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21 May 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLIC CHURCH NEEDS BISHOPS, PRIESTS, LITERATURE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 6 Dec 83 p 5

[Article by Johann Georg Reissmueller: "What the Church in Czechoslovakia Needs Above All"]

[Text] Since the end of 1980, contacts between the Vatican and Prague had dried up. Now, surprisingly, the Pope has had a talk with Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Chnoupek. It is not out of the question that Prague wants to use this meeting only to discourage and confuse the Catholics in the country, and to gain prestige in the outside world; then the Pope would have been conned. But it is also possible that the Rome encounter opened the way for a resumption of talks with greater prospects of success than formerly. The Vatican, concerned about the oppressed church in Czechoslovakia, has always made efforts in this direction; for domestic political reasons, the Prague leadership might now be interested -- it is faced with great economic difficulties, and it might seem advisable to ease up a bit on its confrontation with the church.

The most plausible reason might be a discussion of filling vacant bishops' sees. Much needs to be done: Of the six dioceses in the Bohemian and Moravian church province, only one, the archdiocese of Prague, has a diocesan bishop (Cardinal Archbishop Tomasek), and one, the Archbishopric Olmuetz (Olomouc in Czech), has an apostolic administrator appointed by the Pope (Titular Bishop Vrana). The four remaining bishoprics are headed by capitular vicars, i.e., priests not appointed by the Pope but by the respective cathedral chapters, as a rule upon instruction by the state authority on church affairs. Things look somewhat better in the Slovakian church province. Of seven bishoprics there, two have a diocesan bishop -- Neusohl (Banska Bystrica in Slovakian [Feranec]), and Neutra (Nitra in Slovakian [Pasztor]). The archbishopric Tyrnau (Trnava) is headed by an apostolic Presov by a priest, Hirka, as Ordinary (i.e., a provisional administrator appointed by the Pope).

The vacancies could be filled quickly if Rome were to engage in appointing as bishops priests who are active in the regime-run priests' organization "Pacem in terris" (Peace on earth); the simplest solution: to pick the capitular vicars appointed by the state for most of the vacant dioceses. But Rome has gained experience since 1973, when it placed, among others, two especially activist "peace priests" at the head of dioceses: Vrana and Feranec. Despite Rome's hopes that they would change in office, both persisted in their subjugation to the regime. They are of no help to the upright Archbishop Tomasek of Prague, and upon seeing them, many of the faithful have lost their trust

in the church.

Thus Rome's decision which is the greater evil -- no bishop, or a regime-bishop -- may be weighed somewhat differently now than a decade ago. But in a compromise, the Vatican would probably have to accept one or another "peace bishop." It would depend on the number, and also to what degree a priest has allied himself with the regime; even among the active "peace priests" there are great differences.

Even more than the lack of bishops, the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia suffers from a lack of priests. Soon, half the parishes will be without a priest. The only two seminaries, in Leitmeritz (Litomerice) and Pressburg (Bratislava), have enrollment restrictions imposed by the state. In 1982, the Leitmeritz seminary was allowed to accept only 34 out of 60 applicants. (Many interested young people don't even try to apply, since they expect to be turned down, which in addition will mark them as "unreliable elements" and will block all prospects of getting ahead in any other profession). The state also decides who can study for the priesthood, and who is permitted to become a priest afterwards. The authorities grant permission primarily to people they consider less gifted or of unstable character, in which they are sometimes mistaken. In negotiations with Prague, the Vatican would press for relaxation in this regard. But training for the priesthood in its present form is hard for the church to accept. According to a 1950 statute, the teaching staff is determined solely by the state, which also controls the teaching. For the church in Czechoslovakia, much depends on whether it can become master of training its priests.

Incidentally, the lack of priests could be quickly mitigated if the state were to permit at least some of the priests suspended by the regime -- there seem to be between 100 and 200 of them -- to return to their church duties. In many cases, they are priests who were sentenced for political reasons. Freeing all imprisoned priests would be a further, important negotiating goal for the Vatican.

The Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia lacks literature. The two church newspapers -- one in Prague, one in Bratislava -- are in the hands of the peace-priests' organization, and thus the state. There are hardly any religious books. This shortage time and again drives priests and laymen to publish religious writings in "Samizdat," which has landed many of them in prison. The state, to a large extent, has dried up religious instruction through agitation, threats, and the imposition of job disadvantages on the parents, and later on the pupils. But all practicing faithful are subjected to usually silent sanctions -- social advancement is denied them.

It is especially this part of the battle against the church which has emptied the churches in Czechoslovakia -- although there is a growing willingness among young Catholics to profess their faith, regardless of hardships. This is how the Communist authorities want it to be: a church hierarchy living in eerily empty baroque palaces and watching in helpless pain or, better yet, in frivolous indifference, the drying up of religious life, the dying of the faith and church caused by propaganda, pressure and persecution.

Should Rome and Prague resume negotiations, one definite topic of discussion would be the regime-run priests' organization "Pacem in terris," which is headed by priests subservient to the state, but has a majority of members who, through their membership, wish to buy a bit more leeway in their pastoral duties, or who are simply afraid. The Roman Sacred Congregation for the Clergy in its decree "Quidam episcopi" of March 8, 1982, forbade all priests, worldwide, membership in political organizations. In response, the leaders of "Pacem in terris" (the chairman was Olmuetz Vicar General Vesely who died last Saturday; the secretary general is a priest, Father Adler; the chairman of the organization for Bohemia and Moravia is the Leitmeritz Capitular Vicar Hendrich) propagated the interpretation that the decree did not refer to their organization. When he asked the prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy, Cardinal Oddi, the archbishop of Prague received the answer that "Quidam episcopi" also meant the priests' association "Pacem in terris."

The Roman decree prompted a number of priests, among them two capitular vicars, to quit "Pacem in terris." A continuing movement to resign from the organization was blocked by the state with threats against those leaving and against the Catholic Church as a whole in the country. "Pacem in terris" is a facet of satellite existence forced upon the Catholic Church by the Communist authorities.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LAW JOURNAL RAISES CULTURAL ARTIFACTS OWNERSHIP QUESTION

FRG Background Sketch

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by Dr Peter Dittmar, staff editor: "Legal Scholars of the 'GDR' and Its Territory in 1944--Wondrous Notions on the Topic of the Prussian Cultural Holdings"]

[Text] Negotiations on a cultural agreement with the GDR, resumed last fall after an 8-year pause, would be tough, the FRG Chancellor said in his "report on the situation of the nation in divided Germany." As a confirmation of it, the East Berlin law journal NEUE JUSTIZ now has published a contribution which underscores, without saying so directly, the intransigence of the SED on the very point that has frustrated negotiations thus far: the Prussian Cultural Holdings Foundation. The seemingly businesslike title, "Safeguarding Cultural Objects from Illegal Seizure and Removal to Foreign Countries Under International Law," hides the old demand for surrendering the art treasures of the Foundation.

The GDR's legal argumentation rests on shaky foundations. East Berlin is seeking to outflank that by referring to its own laws, such as the "decree on the state museum fund of the GDR" of 12 April 1978, according to which also "museum objects and collections originally placed in museum institutions in the GDR territory ~~that~~ were shifted elsewhere and are not at present in GDR territory" were declared public property, and to the "law on the protection of GDR cultural goods" of 3 July 1980, according to which "a shift in connection with World War II" does not diminish the GDR's property claim.

The two laws arrogate to themselves a legal authority the GDR is not entitled to in that they--in contradiction to all legal principles--retroactively postulate property claims although the presumed proprietor did not exist at all at the time. To hide the dubiousness of such argumentation, NEUE JUSTIZ goes far afield. It mentions, e.g., that there is an international accord on returning to their owner art treasures recently stolen and taken abroad, irrespective of their having meanwhile been purchased by credulous buyers. That does function in practice, too. The Spreewald Museum in Luebbenau got its Meissen china back that, after being stolen, was intended to be auctioned in Holland. The point only is this: shifting art objects toward the west during the war was not a matter of theft.

Another area pertains to art objects brought to Germany as war booty during World War II. The Allies ordered their return after the end of the war. A third matter cited by the GDR is the Hague Convention on the protection of cultural objects during armed conflicts, of 14 May 1954 (which East Berlin, however, joined not until 20 years later, in September 1974). In declaring that Convention a crystallization of "customary principles of international law," the GDR is acting as if that applied as early as 1944/45 and to the FRG-GDR relationship. Both assumptions are false. That Convention cannot claim any retroactive validity either, of course. Its much greater importance lies in settling claims between states in war with each other. That is something the FRG and the GDR palpably have never been in with each other.

These are basic facts that cannot be done away with by any sort of analogy inferences from League of Nations drafts, UNESCO Conventions, or bilateral treaties. That is why the final sentence in the article--though its thrust is easy enough to understand--is completely hanging in the air. It claims: "The protection of cultural objects under international law fully applies, however, to cultural objects illegally taken from GDR territory to other states in the last war year and the chaos of the postwar period." That cannot apply to Prussian cultural holdings--that much of a minimum knowledge of the law must be expected even of party-minded legal scholars--because there neither was a "GDR territory" in 1944/45, nor were those cultural objects taken to a "different state."

They remained where they had always been, on the territory of the German Reich. And there they are still today. That was unequivocally settled by the Allies through the Control Council Law No 46 of 25 February 1947, by which Prussia was liquidated, and through subsequent decrees by the Western Allies for their particular zones of occupation. Thus the FRG government can negotiate as little about these art objects as about the line of demarcation (also set down by the Allies) following the course of the Elbe.

Legal Scholars' Rationale

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 38 No 3, Mar 84 pp 86-88, 91

[Article by Dr Klaus Zschiedrich and Dr Eva Hoffmann, Berlin: "Safeguarding Cultural Objects from Illegal Seizure and Removal to Foreign Countries Under International Law"]

[Text] International bodies have recently dealt time and time again with the legal issues in protecting cultural objects. From the broad spectrum of this subject matter we can refer here to the following examples: The preservation of the cultural world heritage, the demand for returning cultural goods stolen during the time of colonial suppression from their countries of origin,¹ the protection of cultural goods from destruction in case of military conflict and from being illegally taken away and removed to foreign countries.

Especially the issue mentioned last is highly relevant because in recent years at art auctions in capitalist countries, paintings, graphic pieces and other cultural objects have repeatedly surfaced that properly belong to museums and

institutions of the GDR. Most of them are objects in storage as a protection against air raids during World War II which then were at the end of the war stolen from their no longer secure hiding places.² More recently, organized gangs of criminals from capitalist countries also have sought to extend their raids to the cultural objects of the GDR.³

In the following we shall show what legal protection cultural objects enjoy from being illegally taken away and what the obligations are that result from international law for the states with regard to safeguarding and returning illegally removed cultural objects.

Legal Principles for the Protection of Cultural Objects

Nearly all states with important art objects have legal regulations for the protection, maintenance and preservation of their national cultural property. One of their essential concerns is to prevent an uncontrolled sale and export of important cultural objects and thereby counteract a diminution of their national cultural treasure.⁴ Such legal regulations are confined in their effects to the sovereign area of the given state that issues the laws. When cultural objects are illegally exported, the question therefore arises on what legal grounds claims to having them returned can be enforced.

When civil law claims on retrieving cultural objects have been raised, all sorts of legal difficulties have arisen, as practice has shown: the choice of the law to be applied in accordance with the principles of international private law, diverse rules on the protection of good faith in the purchase of stolen cultural objects, diverse regulations on the statute of limitations for retrieval claims, and furthermore, in civil law court cases in capitalist states, litigation is usually very expensive, it taking several years, and its outcome remains uncertain to the very end.⁵

Realizing that such a procedure is not appropriate to the spiritual-cultural significance of art objects and other cultural goods, efforts have been under way for decades to arrive at effectively, within the framework of international law, settling those questions that relate to the retrieval of cultural goods stolen and illegally taken abroad.

As long ago as in 1933, 1936 and 1939, a convention draft had been prepared within the League of Nations aiming at the retrieval of the art, historic and scientific objects stolen to be sold abroad.⁶ That convention, however, never materialized.

For the Latin American region, the Washington treaty for the protection of moveable property of historic value, of 15 April 1935, set down the terms for the import and export of certain cultural objects.⁷ Such art objects can be exported only, according to that treaty, by presenting an export permit from the state of origin or descent. A state bound by the treaty which receives cultural goods without such a permit is under the obligation to confiscate them at the national border and see to their being returned to their country of origin. After an unlawful import has been completed, the states bound by that treaty are to arrange the return of those objects at a government level.

A decisive step for a multilateral cooperation of states for the protection of cultural objects was the convention adopted at the 16th general UNESCO conference on measures proscribing and preventing the illegal import, export and sale of cultural goods of 14 November 1970.⁸ Along with a listing of categories for cultural goods under protection, Article 1 contains the statement that each state can make a sovereign decision on the cultural values found in its sovereign territory, in terms of which pieces in particular belong among the protected cultural goods. Export and import of cultural goods, as to Article 6, are legal only if an official export permit was granted. According to Article 7, the states bound by the treaty are under the obligation to take appropriate measures so that museums and similar institutions in their sovereign area acquire no cultural goods that were illegally exported from other member states of the convention. With it, they have the duty to inform the country of origin whenever such objects surface. Article 7 Letter b (1) pronounces a general import ban on stolen cultural objects.

Furthermore, as to Article 7 Letter b (2), the states bound by the treaty are under the obligation to introduce measures, upon the request from the country of origin, for the retrieval and return of illegally removed cultural objects. The requesting state must submit the necessary documents to substantiate its property claim. The whole retrieval procedure follows the diplomatic route. A credulous purchaser of such cultural commodities must be adequately compensated by the country of origin. Various rules, however, seek to preclude as much as possible such good faith by a third purchaser. That is served by adequately publicizing the disappearance of any kind of cultural commodity (Article 5 Letter g), the art dealer's obligation to keep records with data on the origin of the pieces (including their description and prices) and on the names and addresses of the dealers, and by informing the buyers on any possible export proscriptions (Article 10 Letter a).

The 1970 Convention for the first time produced a consensus on the basis of international law on that the import, export and sale of cultural objects are regarded as illegal if found in contradiction to the provisions of the Convention. The codifying conference did not succeed as yet, however, on agreeing on unequivocal norms for all property law consequences for stolen cultural objects. What was missing, e.g., was a clear determination to the effect that an acquisition of property in good faith was to be precluded for such objects once the states bound by the treaty had taken certain measures, such as having informed the public about the theft of cultural goods. Missing also was the remark, so important for retrieval claims, that an illegal sale of cultural goods abroad precludes acquiring a proprietary legal title to them.

Fifty states are now members of that Convention.⁹ UNESCO and the UN are steadily seeking a larger membership to provide for a still broader protection of cultural goods under international law.

The international law norms for the protection of cultural goods from illegal export and import thus suggest the general conviction the states have that cultural goods worth protecting are to be kept where they are legally found or returned to that place once they were illegally removed. Requests for aid in locating and returning illegally removed cultural goods are to go through diplomatic channels, with the government that received the request having to initiate in its own competency the requisite measures for safeguarding and returning them.

The Official Practice in Returning Illegally Removed Cultural Objects After World War II

Whereas not until this century norms were set up for protecting cultural objects from being illegally removed in peacetime, there has been a practice under international law of protecting cultural objects from theft during military conflict that goes back several centuries.¹⁰ Of special importance to this has been the Hague Land War Order of 18 October 1907.¹¹ It prohibits the looting of towns and settlements in occupied areas (Article 28, 47) and, specifically, any seizure of historic monuments and works of art and science (Article 56).

After the crushing of fascism, the occupation powers in Germany incontestably regarded as their obligation under international law to see to returning the cultural objects stolen during the war by the fascist occupiers from other countries or illegally removed in connection with the chaos of the postwar period. Thus Proclamation No 2 of the Allied Control Council, of 20 September 1945,¹² ordered the safeguarding and subsequent handing over of property values subject to restitution.

In the former Soviet zone of occupation, the seizure of some property categories, including stolen cultural objects, took place on the basis of SMAD [Soviet Military Administration in Germany] Order No 124 of 30 October 1945.¹³ This order also declared any dispositions made on confiscated property without SMAD agreement null and void. SMAD Order No 104, of 4 April 1946,¹⁴ placed all property in the Soviet zone of occupation belonging to citizens in the UN countries or confiscated from them through fascist measures after 1 September 1939 under SMAD protection and control.¹⁵

The Western zones of occupation likewise issued legal provisions on the safeguarding and restitution of stolen cultural objects.¹⁶

Marked by the idea of restitution of illegally removed cultural objects as a form of reparation for the violation of international law also are the Allies' peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania and Finland, of 1947. They all contain specific sections on reparation issues in which restitution is also dealt with. States formerly allied with Nazi Germany were held responsible for returning at short shrift all property removed from a UN member state, in recognition of the principles of the London Declaration of 5 January 1943,¹⁷ and that also included cultural objects.¹⁸ This stipulation was afterwards explicitly included in the peace treaties although in practice the identification and restitution of stolen cultural objects had already been carried out right after the end of the war.

Also Article 25 of the Austrian State Treaty, of 15 May 1955,¹⁹ provides for the restitution of all property belonging to the UN and its citizens that still was in Austria at the time that the treaty was signed.²⁰

After the end of World War II, moreover, efforts were made to return cultural objects removed by the Hitler fascists that had got to neutral foreign states. In conformity with an appropriate agreement between the Western Allies and Switzerland,²¹ e.g., the Swiss Federal Council on 10 December 1945 issued a resolution on restitution claims to property values stolen from areas occupied during the war.²² Sweden likewise, in 1945, issued a so-called stolen goods law on the restitution of goods removed in violation of international law.²³

The GDR has since its founding also actively been advocating the return of cultural objects removed during World War II and has handed over such objects when located on its territory to the governments of the states of origin concerned.²⁴

Still during the war it turned out that some cultural objects stolen during the course of the events of war also had ended up in the United States. The U.S. government at the time was of the view that the import of stolen art objects opposed the general U.S. policy and its obligations from the Hague Land War Order of 1907. Between 1944 and 1954, U.S. authorities took a total of 1,194 cultural objects into custody and then sent them through diplomatic channels to the nations owning them, such as Poland, France, Italy, the Netherlands and the FRG.²⁵ Here it must be pointed out, however, that cultural goods, safeguarded in the United States, that belonged to GDR state museums were not released to the GDR, but to the FRG, where they continue to be unlawfully retained.²⁶

The 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural Goods During Armed Conflicts

The measures taken by the allied powers after World War II for locating and returning objects of artistic, historic and archeological value that had been stolen by fascist troops or had gotten lost during the events of war, the relevant contractual stipulations in the 1947 peace treaties, as well as the practice followed by UN member states with regard to the return of cultural goods surfacing in their own countries unequivocally confirm that there exists a general conviction in terms of international law that makes it mandatory for states to locate and safeguard stolen cultural objects and return them to their states of origin.

These customary international law principles ultimately found their crystallization in the Hague Convention for the protection of cultural goods during armed conflicts, as of 14 May 1954.²⁷ In it, any damage of cultural goods is considered a damage done to the cultural heritage of all mankind, so that the protection of cultural goods was set down as a concern of the community of states as a whole.

The norms developed over many years in practicing international law treaties regarding the protection of cultural goods from theft were then for the first time included in a universal convention all states were free to join. Article 4 Figure 3 of the Convention contains the obligation assumed by the treaty concluding sides to prohibit, prevent and, if necessary, thwart every type of theft, looting or other unlawful acquisition of cultural goods. That provision also contains a confiscation and reprisal ban for cultural goods.

The selection of terms in Article 4 Figure 3--"theft, looting or other unlawful acquisition"--makes clear that the international law in force proceeds from permanent bonds between cultural goods and their lawful locations, so that the ban on removal is absolute. The treaty states, as to Article 28 in the Convention, are duty bound to prosecute or fine citizens who infringe the provisions of the Convention.

The 1954 Hague Convention Protocol contains stipulations for returning cultural objects removed to foreign countries. According to its Article 1 Figure 1, the treaty states are under the obligation to prevent the export of cultural goods from regions they hold occupied during armed conflict. If cultural objects are nonetheless exported, they are to be taken into custody officially or upon the request from the authorities of the area of origin (Article 1 Figure 2). After the end of hostilities, they have to be returned to the competent authorities of the formerly occupied area (Article 1 Figure 3). The same applies to cultural objects that were hidden for safekeeping purposes (Article 2).

The duty to return such objects exists for the treaty states, regardless of any civil law changes that might possibly have been made meanwhile. Credulous owners of such cultural objects are to be indemnified by the state under restitution obligation (Article 1 Figure 4).

International Law Obligations and Actual Official Practice

The practice of modern international law proceeds from the principle of the integrity of the states' national cultural heritage. In particular, the general international law conviction has come to prevail that cultural goods worthy of protection must not be removed violently or forcibly from their lawful locations, which for the most part are historically grown collections. International treaty law, especially the 1954 Hague Convention, ensures effectively guarding cultural objects from theft. Objects removed in violation of international law have to be returned. This restitution constitutes an international law obligation for the state in which such objects are newly located. The state of origin derives a corresponding international law claim from it. Restitution is arranged on an interstate level. Settling the international law claim through diplomatic channels releases the original owner from the need to litigate for the release of objects before the courts in the state of their new location. The state under restitution obligation must, however, by the means of its legal order--if necessary even by expropriation--arrange for safeguarding the illegally removed cultural goods and hand them over to the state of their original location.

This legal state of affairs totally applies to cultural objects belonging to museums or institutions in the GDR territory, from where they were stolen in 1945 or later or unlawfully removed in some other way. Recently in particular there have been more and more cases where cultural objects missed in the GDR surface in Western states. Their present owners evidently assume that the stolen pieces can now be sold without any big risk.

Relying on the international law in practice for decades, the GDR government in such cases turns to the governments of the states in which those cultural objects surface, requesting them through diplomatic channels to assist in the retrieval of its property. The GDR thereby relies on the international law obligation the states have to return illegally removed cultural objects. When for instance in January 1978 valuable Meissen china was offered for auction in the Netherlands that came out of the burglary of the Spreewald Museum in Luebbenau, intensive contacts ensued between GDR and Netherlands authorities, in the outcome of which the pieces were secured as early as in March 1978 and properly returned to the GDR.

Regrettably, the legal situation is not yet as unequivocally being interpreted by some states as it has evolved after World War II by way of international treaty law and official practice. In particular, some governments, to fulfil their international law obligations, are shying away from what in their view would be an interference with existing civil law conditions. The protection of cultural objects under international law fully applies, however, to cultural objects illegally taken from GDR territory to other states in the last war year and the chaos of the postwar period. The time has come for those governments that still seem to be dubious about a restitution obligation under international law today also to conform to this standpoint.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. P. Butters, "Forderungen auf Rueckfuehrung von Kulturguetern in ehemals koloniale Laender und die voelkerrechtliche und politische Haltung der DDR dazu" [Restitution Claims on Cultural Objects in Former Colonial Countries and the GDR's International Law and Political Position on It], dissertation, Potsdam-Babelsberg, 1979.
2. So for instance the two so-called Tucher paintings of Albrecht Duerer which belong in the Weimar art collections. Cf. M. Posch, "The New York Duerer Picture Trial," INFORMATIONEN UND BERICHTE DER VEREINIGUNG DER JURISTEN DER DDR, No 2, 1983, pp 8 ff. Nearly all larger buseums, libraries and other collections on GDR territory have, in part, reported great losses in cultural objects that have not surfaced to this day. The Dresden art gallery alone reports as many as 507 works of art lost since World War II (cf. H. Ebert, "Kriegsverluste der Dresdener Gemaeldegalerie," Dresden, 1963).
3. Recall, e.g., the Spreewald Museum Luebbenau burglary in the night of 28/29 April 1977. Cf. DER NEUERER, No 11, 1981, pp 368 ff.
4. Cf., e.g., the law on the protection of the cultural goods of the GDR--Kulturgutschutzgesetz--of 3 July 1980 (GBL [legal gazette] Part I No 20 p 191); its first implementing regulation--Geschuetztes Kulturgut--of 3 July 1980 (GBL Part I No 21 p 213); its second implementing regulation--Anmeldung und Registrierung von geschuetztem Kulturgut--of 2 December 1981 (GBL Part I 1982, p 144); and its third implementing regulation--Ausfuhr von Kulturgut--of 3 May 1982 (GBL Part I No 24 p 432).
5. The 13-year litigation before U.S. courts over the release of the two Duerer paintings, even though it worked out for the GDR, is a vivid example of it.
6. Cf. L. Engstler, "Die territoriale Bindung von Kulturguetern im Rahmen des Voelkerrechts" [The Territorial Bond on Cultural Objects Under International Law], Cologne/West Berlin/Bonn/ Munich, 1964, pp 49 ff.
7. Text in M. O. Hudson, "International Legislation" Vol VII, Washington, 1941, pp 60 ff.
8. Cf. Announcement on the GDR's subscribing to the Convention of 10 June 1974 (GBL Part II No 20 p 397) including the text of the Convention.
9. Cf. membership survey in GBL, separate issue No 1057 and 1057/1.

10. The peace treaties of Muenster and Osnabrueck that ended the Thirty Years War (1648) for the first time established under international law a restitution obligation for removed archives, literary documents and other moveables, cf. also L. Engstler, op. cit., p 87. -- Also after Napoleon's defeat in 1814 and 1815 extensive restitutions were made of cultural objects removed by Napoleonic troops to their original locations. The victorious powers thereby confirmed the prohibition for stealing works of art during a war and established the restitution as a sanction for the infringing of that prohibition. Cf. M. Vogt, "Die Kunstbeschlagnahmen im Zeitalter Napoleons und ihre Folgen" [Art Confiscations in the Napoleonic Era and the Consequences], dissertation, Goettingen, 1955.
11. Text in "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente, Teil 1" [International Law--Documents--Part I], Berlin, 1980, pp 56 ff.
12. Text in "Zur Deutschlandpolitik der Anti-Hitler-Koalition (1943 bis 1949) [On the Germany Policy of the Anti-Hitler Coalition(1943-1949), Berlin, 1966, p 96.
13. Ibid., p 117.
14. Text in Ruge, Das Recht in Deutschland" [Law in Germany], Vol IV, West Berlin, 1950.
15. Also cf. in this connection SMAD Orders No 61, 22 February 1946, and No 276, 16 December 1947, which were very important for restitution settlements (texts at Ruge, op. cit. and ZVOB1, 1948 No 4 pp 49 ff). Those orders decreed the recording and collecting of identified property of that kind--including art objects--and its being detained subject to further arrangements. The acceptance of restitution applications was halted as of 1 February 1950, most claims having been settled as early as in the first postwar years.
16. Cf. L. Engstler, op. cit., pp 140 ff.
17. AMTSBLATT DES ALLIIERTEN KONTROLLRATES 1945, supplement No 1, p 3. As to Paragraph 2 of the Declaration, the allies reserve the right to declare any assigning of property in the states occupied or controlled by Hitler Germany null and void.
18. Cf. peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Finland, articles 75, 22, 23, 24, respectively. Texts in "Die Friedensvertraege von 1947 mit Italien, Ungarn, Bulgarien, Rumaenien und Finnland," Oberursel, 1948.
19. Text in "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente, Teil 2," Berlin, 1980, pp 407 ff.
20. Also cf. the Franco-Austrian memorandum of 10 May 1955, which in Paragraph I Letter a explicitly sets down the restitution of goods, works of art, art objects and pieces of collections violently or forcibly removed during the German occupation of France and rediscovered in Austria. Cf. F. Ermacora, "Oesterreichs Staatsvertrag und Neutralitaet" [Austria's State Treaty and Neutrality], Frankfurt/Main/West Berlin, 1957, pp 70 f.

21. The so-called Currie Accord between Great Britain, France and the United States on the one side and Switzerland on the other, of 8 March 1945. Cf. H. Leuzinger, "Die deutschen Vermoegenswerte in der Schweiz und ihre statistische Erfassung" [German Property Values in Switzerland and Their Statistical Compilation], Winterthur, 1960, p 26.
22. Official collection of federal laws and decrees of Switzerland, No 611052.
23. Cf. K.-G. Seelinger, "Das auslaendische Privateigentum in der Schweiz" [Foreign Private Property in Switzerland], Munich, 1949, p 234.
24. Cf. the GDR and Polish government protocol on returning ethnographic collections, as of 11 May 1967, in "Dokumente zur Aussenpolitik der DDR" [Documents on GDR Foreign Policy], 1967, Vol XV, Berlin, 1970, pp 991 f.
25. Department of State BULLETIN, 4 October 1954, p 496.
26. Cf. U.S.-FRG agreement, going into force through an exchange of notes on 9 and 16 December 1966, in "Treaties and Other International Acts," series 6169. -- The GDR government, in a note to the U.S. Department of State, protested against handing those paintings over to the FRG; text in "Aussenpolitische Korrespondenz" [Foreign Policy Correspondence], 1967, No 15, p 119.
27. Cf. announcement on the GDR's joining that Convention and the protocol drawn up on it of 18 September 1974 (GBL Part II No 27 p 514). -- Convention text and Protocol in GBL separate issue No 782, or "Voelkerrecht, Dokumente, Teil 2," op. cit., pp 383 ff; membership survey in GBL, loc. cit.

5885

CSO: 2300/438

CHURCH JOURNAL SKEPTICAL OF EMIGRANTS' MOTIVATION

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German Vol 39 No 16, 15 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Dr Gottfried Mueller, chief editor: "Standards"]

[Text] Will leaving one's homeland solve the problems for many of those who have applied for exit permits in recent weeks and months? It is to be doubted. And I am not speaking of true cases of reuniting families, or of special medical cases where a change of residence is advisable; those applications are understandable. But for many of those willing to emigrate, one would hope that they are able to assess realistically what they themselves are capable of, and what they are about to give up.

Despite skepticism toward such reasons for emigrating as are sometimes stated even in front of television cameras and radio microphones, the fact that many exit permits are granted must be welcomed. If fits effectively, and in a peace-promoting manner, into the CSCE process which is also supported by our churches, and it corresponds to the ancient human experience that children who want to leave--for whatever reasons--should not be forced to stay at home.

The present situation has brought about a multifaceted discussion of the problems of emigration. Members of Christian parishes ask their church whether it cannot apply standards of faith to such a question of ethics. For this reason, synods have spoken out, bishops have expressed positions, and even middle-echelon church leaders have written letters to clergymen and church members.

Taking such positions is justified in faith, and even demanded, if they are not simply an echo of opinions which "one" holds in this question of human fellowship, and if they also bring up the biblical message with its uncomfortable aspects. Some people definitely do not wish to be reminded that "self-realization," hoped for through emigration, cannot be a goal for the faithful. In the imitation of Christ, it is rather a matter of serving one's neighbor selflessly, and professing one's faith even in a Marxist-oriented state. Both attitudes are necessary and possible in the GDR.

The church cannot encourage dreams about "self-realization," but it can cultivate respect for human beings as they are, even if they do not always conform to the image that we have of them. And the so-called "basic principle" which has been worked out in talks between state and church must be understood in this way: the reality and strength of humanitarian rules about how to deal with people are being tested in the practice of daily life. However, the individual citizen is also being tested to see if he--sensibly and thoroughly informed about the context of the situation--is willing to contribute his share of insight and commitment to the community.

One last question. If the church demands of its members--as a matter of course, not as an unreasonable imposition!--that they not forsake their true human responsibilities, the church must also be willing to delegate responsibilities and to strengthen people in the feeling that they are needed. Are our church communities willing and able to form such a "social diaconate?" Only if they really are, can they convincingly and supportively apply the standards which Christian ethics doubtless has to offer even in the problem of emigration.

9917

CSO: 2300/429

MINISTER URGES MORE TOLERANCE TOWARD YOUTHS' POLITICAL QUESTIONS

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German No 3, Mar 84 pp 14-17

[Margot Honecker, GDR Minister of Education, addresses Ninth FDJ Central Council Meeting]

[Excerpt] Youth Holds Sacred Its Allegiance to the GDR Fatherland

What has it got to do with communist or class-bound education when we are talking about instilling such human traits and are making a special point of it? Those rules for human fellowship or, as Lenin used to say, the elemental preconditions for community, were produced through the efforts and struggle of the people's masses, the workers class, in the struggle against the exploiters. They are indispensable to a society such as the socialist in the struggle to solve the grandiose task of establishing the communist society some day. We need them to mold our society still more closely in the struggle against our enemies, in the class struggle as of today. Not until socialism, as the course of history proves, could such social conditions be created in which that kind of morality, of ethics, can massively evolve. Already in their Communist Manifesto, as you know, Marx and Engels pointed to the class nature of morality. It is pure hypocrisy for the bourgeoisie to operate with terms like good, honest or human, terms incompatible with that inhuman society. The agents and proponents of that society are talking about conscience but are acting without conscience in preparing wars and exploiting people. They are preaching that man is good yet they are debasing man, because what is good for them--their profits--is misery, unemployment, for the masses. To Mr Reagan, the Soviet Union, communism, is the embodiment of all evil, while for the people it yet is the best, the most precious. They are talking of honor and can have none. Was it not Karl Liebknecht who said, when maligned for his steady nay to supporting the war policy: "Their honor is not my honor!" The honor, dignity and conscience of those people in the FRG who, against the life and interests of their own people, have deployed first-strike weapons is not our honor. Whoever entreats youth, as the rules in the FRG do, to show allegiance to a fatherland that tramples the rights and dignity of youth under foot and wants to reconquer, and incorporate in the imperialist FRG, the only true fatherland the German youth ever had, must and should know that to our youth allegiance to the GDR, its fatherland, is no vacuous concept, that this fatherland is sacred to us in the truest sense of the word, and that we know how to protect and defend it with all the means at our command and jointly with our allies.

That to us is a question of conscience, honor, dignity, and justice. Our youth thus must know about the class-bound content of such moral categories as good and evil, just and unjust, honor and dignity.

Our morality in championing true justice, freedom and peace is implied in the nature of our society in which these high ethical values inhere. To work honestly and deal reliably with others has a high place value in our society.

High demands are made on the schools and the youth association for forming and reinforcing ethical-moral characteristics relying on socialist consciousness. How one deals with such moral characteristics within one's collective, how sincere, attentive, comradely, helpful and humble, responsible, disciplined and conscientious one is--all that affects each and everyone. A truly developing collective greatly depends on enforcing and maintaining such rules of fellowship by each. Experiencing and getting accustomed to an attitude marked by the socialist norms for fellowship is of great importance for the development of our society and each individual, down into his personal life, in the future. It molds the character, the judgment and, ultimately, the entire attitude of young people.

The collective, the tasks it assigns to itself, and the norms and relations developing within it make up a highly practical testing ground for a moral attitude, from which emanate important impulses for forming stable habits, as they are being practically experienced within the collective, for such elemental preconditions for social fellowship as mutual respect, tact and courtesy, paying attention to others, and never hurting anyone frivolously. We are likely to agree that in this respect a lot still remains to be done, also in view of the fact that the sense of safety within their collectives deepens all the more among boys and girls, the more they experience what is socially significant also as personally significant. How they in their collective experience the care of the individual for the commonweal--that is likely to make a deep impression on them. Desirable and necessary characteristics of a society like ours are the will to perform, the readiness to struggle, but also friendliness, sensitivity, and a sense for beauty.

We all know that moral positions and attitudes are forming best when children learn early to assume responsibility and adolescents get still more actively involved and take an active part in their concerns while still in school. We are by now doing a lot in that direction, we may say. Pupils are assuming diverse tasks in studying and in useful public work, in improving their schools and their residential areas, and above all in their political organization. There is no lack of functions and duties. Yet when tasks and functions are assigned, one often does not focus clearly enough on what it is that is supposed to be affected in the pupils. We should always ask ourselves whether we are making it clear enough to them what their responsibility consists of and how much the collective depends on their initiative, their deeds, their conscientiousness and reliability, and that lack of conscientiousness, even while dealing with smaller tasks, may have effects.

Without denigrating what has been done and what we are doing, we yet should ask ourselves whether that kind of atmosphere, those ways and means of political and pedagogical work, has already been developed everywhere for each being truly drawn into the affairs of the collective, and each perceiving that he is accountable and challenged, that his opinion is wanted and is considered.

That sort of approach to structuring the life in the collectives raises many questions of course about the substance and style of our work. That begins with the ways and means of our political work in the collectives, with how aggressive and constructive it is.

In this respect, our youth association, together with the pedagogues, has done a lot and is doing outstanding work today especially, as demonstrated by the political knowledge and posture of our youth.

One thing I should like to emphasize with regard to our style: in order to convince, we must be thoroughly familiar with the questions of the boys and girls, we must analyze the causes and motives for their political ideas and actions. Problems some young people have must not be dismissed as "politically confused." We must show no intolerance to opinions and standpoints, questions and problems an individual considers serious. Political confusion must be eliminated by clarifying things. That implies, of course, to be firm in principle against false notions, repetitive, rewarmed questions the enemy raises, that are thoughtlessly and mechanically being repeated. That is not the place for tolerance; that calls for thinking and for indigenous standpoints.

Helga already pointed this out: What a lecture or a discussion often cannot make up for are collective experiences, taking part in a political campaign, in an outing, a meeting, a camp fire, a hike or excursions, or getting together with interesting people. Such lasting experiences leave deep traces because they appeal to one's reason and sentiment alike. The youth association through its meetings has had rich experience in this at a large scale; we must still make more of that, however, for the smallest unit, the smallest collective. It is extremely worthwhile for so many pupils collectives to deal with the antifascist resistance struggle, with their homeland history, with the historic achievements of our socialist republic yesterday and today, with the personalities in German history, science and culture, with where we come from, where we are, and where our course will logically lead. I would like it if in our literature and on our stages we could find still more heroes who would sensitize the youth to that the birth and growth of our country has always gone hand in hand with penetrating changes in people and with their dreams, victories and defeats. Art experiences that capture the young people and affect their reason and sentiment, language and forms of behavior, arousing and shaping genuine feelings for our great humanistic cause, are irreplaceable. Hopefully, the cultural conference of the youth association will have an impact in enabling young people to enjoy more fine and valuable works of art.

Together with the teachers we have assigned ourselves the task to understand and conduct better still the children's and their collectives' development, taking more account of the various developmental phases in childhood and youth in our political-pedagogical work. That is indeed of importance to the work in the association. We must give more thought to the demands relating to the age of the pupils in shaping our political-pedagogical work, to the requirements we can and must place on our pupils in conformity with their maturity and stage of development.

Teachers and youth functionaries together should ask themselves: What can we expect of our pupils? Do we challenge them sufficiently, to the full extent of their capability? Are we making sure that the level of demands we make is rising steadily? And how do we use the pupils' own experiences?

The school, the pioneer organization and the FDJ accompany the pupils from the age of 6 until they are adolescents. Let us take our youngest. Almost all of them have been in kindergarten. Their thoughts and language, and their aesthetic and ethical sense, have been shaped and molded to such an extent that their starting school provides them with positions very different from the past. We have to make more yet of what they know, what they are capable of and what they are accustomed to.

Important remarks have already been made about how the pleasure of learning can be stimulated in the pioneer group and self-reliance and active participation can be developed. This is precisely the age when interests must be shaped and self-reliance be developed.

As to the work on the intermediate level, especially 6th and 7th grade, we have given serious thought to that at the Central Directors Conference. It also applies, I believe, to pioneer work. Here we have more to think about yet, all of us. In particular, we ought to take more account of the pronounced desire to do something, of the dedication and energy of pupils in that age-group.

There is still a widespread tendency to do too much for the Thaelmann pioneers and have them still do too little. This also addresses many teachers. Many Thaelmann pioneers, groups and friendship councils want to know what to do to involve more boys, even if, or especially if, they often are not as well behaved and are not performing as well as the girls among their schoolmates, who are undoubtedly efficient functionaries. We simply have to challenge them, pick up their interests and draw them in. We must also cope with those who are not so easy. As to the work with pupils in the upper grades, we should be more aware of that in this time of maturation and growth of personality important decisions have to be made, there being important high points in the lives of those pupils that affect their future conduct through life--the job decision, the youth consecration, or the admission to the FDJ, to mention some of them. But do those who are responsibly organizing this for the pupils year after year actually realize that those events are important to the young people and must be dealt with as singular high points in the life of a young person? In clear-text that means we cannot be haphazard about it. And are we sufficiently aware that at that age relations with contemporaries play a big role, and that judgments and views of the collective or of friends often mean more than what the adults have to say? How do we, in view of that, deal with opinion molding in the collectives?

In the final analysis, dear friends and comrades, the style of working with youth must be governed by our trust in the developmental potential of each young person. That may be a platitude, but do we take enough account of it day after day? To be able to relate to someone, one must know what can be expected of him, must know something about him, about what concerns him and what he has fun doing, and what the problems are that he is struggling with.

What always develops an individual and a collective are requirements. Let us take a problem: Our upper grade girls and boys demonstrate by their productive work in an enterprise what achievements they are capable of. They are already assigned a great responsibility for important production, i.e. for decisive public affairs. They come to grips with the problems of quality labor and of the achievements by their collectives and by individuals. This calls for traits like thoroughness, a sense of responsibility, endurance, discipline, performance readiness, orderliness, helpfulness, thrift, integration, and subordination. But the school does not always enforce that kind of a style. There they do not always apply the same yardstick, as far as the trust in the pupils' ability is concerned to take a critical view of their own performance and attitude and in that their own suggestions and performance are wanted. Pupils must be given assignments in taking on services in the classroom and in the nursery to ensure safety and order and cleanliness in school, conscientiously care for senior people and help younger pupils and many other things like that.

All in all we must see to it that to pioneers and FDJ members is entrusted what matches their capacities, that they know the measure of their accountability, and that they are led in such a way that they can offer their own ideas and projects and perceive results achieved as their own contribution to our cause.

Rights Always Entail Duties

In our educational work, in the school and in the youth organization, we also should see to it more that when a necessary task is assigned one does not at once always spell out all that is needed for fulfilling it, but that some elbow room remains for weighing deliberate decisions. For that, the assignment must be clear of course, and one may consult about handling it with other pioneers or FDJ members.

To feel more responsible for what happens in the life of the school or the group also is a matter of habits that have to be formed and instilled. Getting used to feeling responsible for that all behave properly in the classroom, the lunch room, the school yard, and for considerate conduct, committing oneself to something that is correct and against something that is false, can of course give rise to problems and even conflicts. Later in life young people will more and more run into such needs asking of them to be willing to cope with difficulties and drop inherited habits and notions, overcome blocks and defects, enforce innovations, and help resolve contradictions.

Spurring the pupils' energy and their assuming responsibility for shaping their own lives, their own affairs, while they learn that rights and duties imply each other, is extremely important for teaching our youth democracy, for preparing them for their conscious exercise of power as citizens of the socialist GDR.

Bringing up such people always has been and is our joint concern, the concern of our teachers, who have always been able to rely on an active participation by our youth association and its pioneer organization. In the 35 years that the GDR has been in existence, under party leadership, educated by the FDJ, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and our socialist school, a capable youth has grown up meeting its test alongside the seniors in the political struggle, the struggle for a good socialist cause. That is the way it will remain; for it we want to work together and spare no efforts.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NON-EMIGRANTS TO FRG APPREHENSIVE, INSECURE

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 9 Mar 84 p 13

[Article by Marlies Menge, Berlin editor, datelined Berlin in February:
"Like at the Exodus of the Children of Israel"--Emigration wave in the GDR:
Many Citizens Who Are Staying Feel Insecure and Fear Isolation"]

[Text] The man did not look like a dropout, nor an official either. He was wearing a tie and a beret over short hair. On the parka he was wearing as he walked through East Berlin there was a very conspicuous, round, beige-colored porcelain badge whose logo proclaimed: "I am staying here." Not exactly an everyday reaction to the ever swelling wave of emigrants from the GDR.

From work, the neighborhood, relatives or friends, everyone knows at least one person who wants to leave or has recently moved. Prime Minister Stoph is no exception to this: his niece engineered her exit in an unusually spectacular way. The fact that GDR citizens are talking about her so much is said to result from an unsatisfied desire in the GDR for court gossip. "It's like an illegitimate child in the imperial family at the turn of the century," says a friend, "It's the worst sin that a GDR citizen can commit--and in the family of those in power, at that!"

A doctor says that he feels almost compelled to justify his wish to remain. Four of his colleagues, he says, have applied for permission to emigrate. "You have no car, no house, only your little apartment. Why in the world are you staying?" they ask him. Not only unneeded or unpleasant people are being released by the state: "The motivating idea is to get rid of the burden so that we can then live in peace with those who wish to stay. I have the impression that this will have more of a snowball effect. One approved application will generate two others. Maybe you'll be forced in the end to recognize GDR citizenship in order to protect yourself. After all, you have enough unemployed people as it is." A considerable number of GDR citizens see a connection between the growing numbers of emigrants and the recent throng of West German visitors, from Mischnik to Ehmke along with members of the parliament, all the way up to Vogel.

Many young people are leaving. GDR author Franz Fuhmann in his book "Essays, Conversations, Compositions" speaks of a conflict between generations existing in socialism as well. This applies not only to writers: "Here is generation A, and there is generation B. And now A declares: Either you are like us--like A--or you are nothing at all. Which means for us, the young writers, you have no chance to express yourself, to represent your causes, to be printed and so on. This will produce in generation B the disposition to reject, to deny generation A and, in effect, to abandon the state. This hurts both. We are suffering the loss of valuable talents, and those who leave us suffer an upheaval in their existence."

Like Before the Wall Went Up

People in the GDR feel insecure because of the number of people emigrating: "Gradually, you come to believe that there's no point in staying any longer," laments a woman who had never before even thought about leaving. There exists, she says, a mood reminiscent of that in 1961, before the erection of the wall: fear of isolation, when so many friends are leaving, "The last one out turns off the lights!" It would, however, require an annual emigration rate of 30,000 people sustained over 567 years before the GDR would be depopulated.

Many of those emigrating come from the Dresden area. This is said to be due to the fact that West German TV cannot be received there and these people know less about unemployment in the West than people in the northern part of the GDR. "It looks like the exodus of the Children of Israel from the Promised Land," one woman described the scene at Dresden's central station. "One family after the other, all with children. Surrounded by suitcases and bags, they wait for the train to take them into the West." Friends told of one family which got its emigration permit in the morning and left by train at noon the same day. They appointed a friend to take care of their business, to pack everything and send it off--including even hair curlers, a cooking whisk and a rug beater. "Only the washing machine, the refrigerator and the stereo set are being sold here, because they don't think they can get them serviced over there." One young man was offered four Trabants (a GDR compact car) in one evening for 500 marks apiece, a give-away price for GDR standards, and all by people who had received their emigration permits.

"Those who go are the very ones who are involved in things, people with imagination," said a woman from Dresden, "We somehow feel deserted by them." One person is leaving because he is a devout Catholic and believes that he can better raise his children in the West the way he wants. Another believes that he can do more meaningful work in the Federal Republic than is possible in a planned economy. Often it is disappointments, the bureaucratic behavior of the authorities that serve as the final impetus for applying for permission to emigrate.

Two young student couples in Dresden illustrate this. They had found an old house in Dresden-Loschwitz overlooking the Elbe. The house was in total disrepair; for decades no one had taken care of it. The 84-year-old lady who last lived in it finally moved into the longed-for apartment in a new residential complex. She gave the young people the keys. The housing authority where the students had applied for an apartment some time ago went along with them, saying that all they had to do was fill out a renovation contract for the apartments.

The young people went to work on the renovation with great enthusiasm. They washed off the old paint, painted the walls and floors and repaired the plumbing. Then one day the local housing administration scuttled their plans, demanding a renovation contract for the entire house or nothing at all.

Many Quit on Their Own

"That would have been more than we could handle; scaffolding would have been necessary, roofers, craftsmen. We would have eventually done everything we could. Now the house is standing empty. Children are throwing rocks through the windows, and it is continuing to deteriorate. It's enough to wear a person down." In spite of this, they do not wish to emigrate, "at least not yet."

It is not yet clear what criteria are being used in granting applications for emigration. One person receives permission to leave after waiting 14 days. Another person who applied 4 years ago and consequently lost his job at the Academy of Sciences is now working at a church cemetery and still waiting for permission to emigrate. Many who experience problems at work after applying for permission to emigrate find succor at the church. Those who wish to leave are now no longer fired or transferred to less desirable jobs. Many quit of their own volition. One of these is the O.R. nurse who reasoned: "I have such an important job that they wouldn't let me go."

Young people speak with special respect of the two women Bohley and Poppe, who stayed in the GDR after being released from prison, although the authorities would certainly have been glad to get rid of them. Being active for the cause of peace is not always a quick and sure way to get an emigration permit. Former GDR citizens now living in West Berlin are trying to effect the release of Bettina Muenzberg, Olaf Schubert, Sven Thomas Wetzig and Patrice Castillo, who were arrested at the Leipzig documentary and short film week, "Films of the World for World Peace." Two of them had previously applied for permission to emigrate; the other two applied after being arrested. Two of the young men are half African, having mothers from the GDR and African fathers who were students in the GDR--they, too, products of their mothers' longing for far-away places.

All the people we talked to in the GDR concurred in the opinion that the surest way to stem the tide of emigration would be to allow GDR citizens to travel more: "Many wish to just have a look and are otherwise quite

willing to remain here." A person I know who was recently allowed to return to West Germany for his brother's silver anniversary said: "It was nice and interesting, but it's not anything we would want. It's too unfriendly, too superficial for me. There is too much emphasis on appearances--the stylish new car, clothes..." A young man who was allowed to visit his sick mother in the Federal Republic said: "I was at rock concerts and art exhibits. I liked it a lot. But otherwise... money is the center of everything. It's different here."

One of his friends, now living near Duesseldorf, says that he had problems at first with this too, with people always talking about money: "But it's hard for me to avoid doing it myself. I have to ask myself sometimes how I'm going to manage the rent for next month." Remembering the day he emigrated, he said: "There's a great deal of sadness involved in leaving. You know that you're burning your bridges behind you. Those who left illegally can more easily return to the GDR after the last amnesty than those who left legally. Since I moved here, not even my 70-year-old parents from the Erzgebirge can get permission to visit us in the West." He feels somewhat as though he were in exile: "The words are the same but their meaning is sometimes different." Because of these differences, we now have a German-German dictionary with the title "Plaste and Elaste" ["Plastics and Elastics"].

There is the case of the young woman from the GDR who was trained to teach and dreamed of working for the development agency in India. She is now undergoing training in West Berlin. Following this, she will be unemployed. Then there is the young toolmaker who had worked at a church cemetery in the GDR, not only because he had applied to emigrate but also because he preferred to work in the fresh air. He wanted to find another job working in a cemetery in the West but was unable to find such work there. He needed money. Now he is working again as a toolmaker--the kind of work he dislikes so much.

Intimidating Hustle and Bustle

"At first I was a little taken back by all the hustle and bustle here, the hectic pace, the coldness of the people toward one another," says a young man in the book "Vom Grossen Knast ins Paradies: DDR Buerger in der Bundesrepublik" ["From the Big Slammer into Paradise: GDR Citizens in the FRG"]. Another is quoted as saying: "Interpersonal relationships in the GDR are much more durable and sincere, even among young people. It's not like it is in the West--slam, bam, thank you, Ma'am. That is, spend an hour with someone at the disco and then jump into bed--afterwards saying good-bye and never seeing each other again." A man who has spent 5 years wandering homelessly through the Federal Republic says: "Most of the people I met along the way were from the German Democratic Republic. They were young people for the most part, a few older people. I don't know why this is so. I think it's because we all missed the starting bell in the FRG. And it's hard to get back into society once one is outside of it, because the needed help is missing."

9992

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CHURCH LEADERS COUNSEL AGAINST EMIGRATION, SEEK SED LENIENCY

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 17, 23 Apr 84 pp 40-41, 44

[Text] Churches in the GDR are calling upon the faithful to remain in the country. From the SED leadership they demand extensive easing of travel.

The Protestant parishes of the GDR are suddenly lacking personnel. Cemetery gardeners and cleaning women, secretaries and janitors no longer come to work, and in the area of East Berlin, six pastors forsook their flocks.

Caught up by the largest emigration wave since the building of the wall, they have all gone West. Many of them had applied for emigration years ago, and when they lost their jobs because of it, they found refuge doing jobs for the church. Others quickly filed an application to catch the train to the West in time.

For weeks, the church leadership watched this exodus silently. The top leadership forum of Protestants, the conference of church authorities, at a regular session in mid-March recommended only that "thoughts on the responsibility of the individual towards society" would have to be considered.

This is no longer enough for some of the princes of the church. They fear that the undertow of the emigration wave threatens the inner stability of the church. They demand that the church leadership stem the threatening desolation of intellectual and spiritual life in the GDR with a guiding word from above.

Debate on the correct course is already in full swing in the regional churches. And as always when Protestant leaders had problems with the state in the past, in this case, too, the bishops exercise a double strategy: they admonish the SED, and appeal to the people to have patience.

At the synod of the regional church of Mecklenburg, political conditions in the country, which are, after all, the reason for the flood of exit applications, were vehemently attacked. The Protestants' demand: the state must grant people more "room for decision-making and action."

The presently ubiquitous motto of the SED leadership on the 35th anniversary of the republic ("GDR Our Homeland") was countered by Schwerin Bishop Heinrich Rathke with the demand that the state must first see to it that "people have a homeland here and gladly stay here." And the SED should finally take to heart the slogan "co-plan, co-work, co-govern" and allow citizens to participate in administration and power.

In Goerlitz, at the synod of the smallest regional church in the GDR, Bishop Hanns-Joachim Wollstadt criticized the ideological tutelage of GDR citizens in all areas of life, and stated that the "restrictions of movement beyond the GDR borders" were "unbearable." Before synod members of his diocese of Potsdam, East Berlin Bishop Gottfried Forck warned the GDR leadership not to interpret the phrase "the church in socialism" as if "the church were uncritically affirming all the decisions and measures of our socialist state."

However, despite all wordly evils, the bishops ask that Christians remain in the country and wait for the dawning of better times.

Erfurt Provost Heino Falcke wrote to his pastors that he could understand why many GDR citizens feel locked in by "the closed and heavily guarded border," which is one of the "sores of our state." And he also sees that politically aware people in particular "suffer because our country is far behind in the three major tasks of our time--overcoming the system of deterrence, global justice, preservation of nature," and that it is often "difficult to encourage especially those people to stay."

But the provost, known in the GDR for his environmental and peace activities, recommends that environmentalists and peace activists cope with conflict and "not pin themselves down in total confrontation, but engage in practicable steps and fruitful compromises." Falcke: "Soft water breaks up rocks."

Actually, the steady drip has not dried up. The intention of the SED socialists is clear--to remove through the emigration wave potential trouble-makers from the country. But the independent ecology and peace movement has in no way collapsed.

Last month, 200 peace group delegates assembled in Thuringia. Participants reported that they were hard pressed by the authorities to leave the country. Many had to listen to SED functionaries using the slogan so far only current in the West: "Why don't you go over there."

In other cities, too, Christian groups, student circles, and followers of the GDR-wide movement "Women for Peace" met in seminars. In Leipzig, the pacifists discussed why one should get away from the "eternal candlelight demonstrations" and show more personal courage in everyday life.

At the end of March, at least two dozen environmental groups met in Wittenberg. As in previous years, they called for a car-free day in June all over the country. And in the summer, Protestants again plan to have Blues masses and a peace workshop in East Berlin.

Although the bishops' appeal to their "lambs" to remain in their flocks suits SED plans, the SED follows the ambivalent internal church debate with distrust. The party leadership reacts as usual to the many activities and criticism of a lack of internal liberality: with threats and kindnesses.

Leading churchmen who conferred with SED functionaries about the emigration have were strictly admonished not to go any further. Provost Falcke also got in trouble with the authorities because of his candid words.

But the church still lives off the bonus of the Luther Year. During last year's festivities on the 500th anniversary of the reformer's birth, the Protestants were treated civilly by the SED. And even now Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, mainly exudes goodwill at public appearances.

At a meeting of church journalists in Herrnhut a short time ago, he warned that the dispute between socialists and Christians must not be carried out in the Western media. At the extremely sensitive border between the two military blocs, one must take care that a "global confrontation" between state and church does not arise.

The Christians do not want that, either: they want to bargain with the SED leadership for internal reforms.

One Dresden churchman argues that it is in the party's hands to end the exodus to the West. To do so, it would have to allow a pluralism of opinion, and to grant all citizens the right to visits to relatives and vacation travel.

The church leadership also insists on this. Their political manager, Manfred Stolpe, stated enigmatically before the synod of the Berlin-Brandenburg church that such a decision would have been made long ago, if the intertwined factors of security, economic and domestic policies did not have to be considered. The comrades in the Politburo and the Ministry of the Interior are also aware "that traveling makes one love one's homeland, and that direct contact with dangerous influences is better immunization than theoretical teachings." For these reasons he hoped that those in charge would find "a helpful way."

Stolpe's conclusion: Many an exit application would not have been submitted if many GDR citizens had not seen their neighboring country, the FRG, "only through the half-gilded nimbus of 'Quelle' mail order catalogues."

9917

CSO: 2300/424

EXPANSION OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES PLANNED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 32, 15 Mar 84 pp 2-3

/Article by Dr Ulrich Schneidewind, Deputy Minister for Health/

/Text/ As a result of the high achievement rate of the 1983 national economic plan, the republic's workers have created a good foundation for consistently continuing the proven policy of the primary mission in its combination of economic and social policy also in 1984.

Using the resources available to the health and social welfare system with the highest possible degree of success is the natural duty of all personnel in this field. Here, the personnel forces in the inpatient and outpatient health installations are making a tremendous effort to achieve an optimum ratio between expenditure and result.

New Capacities Created

It was especially the big hospitals erected during the 1980's--such as those in Neubrandenburg, Suhl, Schwerin, Karl-Marx-Stadt, and Frankfurt/Oder--which facilitate health care performance on an even higher level and to an even greater extent. As for the targets adopted by the Tenth SED Congress in the five-year plan directive, the following had already been attained by the end of 1983: 68 percent of outpatient physician slots, 92 percent of stomatology slots, 70 percent of the beds in the hospitals, 70 percent of the creche places, and 66 percent of the places in retirement and nursing homes.

The development of the capacities of the health and social welfare system will be continued intensively also in 1984. For example, 11,460 new places are being created in creches and 3,750 places are being created in retirement and nursing homes.

Almost 300 physician slots and 170 stomatology slots are being newly established above all in the industrial concentration regions in an effort further to improve the network of outpatient medical care. Hospitals will add another 1,170 beds, for example, in Potsdam, Frankfurt, and Leipzig bezirks. In 1984, the health and social welfare system will have more than M11.6 billion available from the government budget to meet its expenditures. Current expenses in the health system also include an item of M3.5 billion for medications and nonreusable materials in 1984. It is interesting to note that the increase in medication consumption, compared to

the annual growth rates customary in earlier years, dropped from 5 percent down to 1-2 percent. This is due last but not least to the higher scientific level in the use of medications by doctors but also the ever more careful handling of medications by the citizens.

The higher performances in the national economy make it possible to make additional manpower available to the health and social welfare system also in 1984. For example, the personnel figure will go up by about 12,000. This means that almost 520,000 workers--including 36,500 doctors and 10,500 dentists--will be employed in the health and social welfare system.

Reserves Must Be Tapped in All Performance Sectors

The extensive development of service capacities includes the priority task of intensively utilizing the existing and newly-created health facilities. The competition resolutions of the personnel forces at the inpatient and outpatient health facilities--during the 1984 plan discussions alone, more than 20,000 proposals were submitted--orient us toward tapping reserves in all performance sectors and, for example, to reduce waiting times for operations and to shorten the time the patient spends in the hospital if qualified treatment so permits. This also includes the extension of office hours in outpatient health facilities to include the evening hours and weekends as well as the shortening of waiting times. Moreover, it is important to utilize modern medical equipment without longer waiting times even more comprehensively for diagnostic and therapeutic care methods which will be as little stressful as possible.

We get our incentive here from the performance comparison between installations of the health system based on the principle of making the best results the criterion for everybody. Due to a decisive improvement in care for children in the creches it was possible in Magdeburg and Frankfurt bezirks, for example, to lower the sickness rate and the duration of sicknesses of children in creches by more than 30 percent. Achieving this to the great joy of mothers and their children in all creches is one of the goals of this performance comparison. Last but not least it was also possible because of this to lower infant mortality to less than 10.7 per 1,000 in 1983 and to reduce the average sickness rate by 0.26 percent.

To improve medical care it is particularly important to organize the diagnosis which precedes every treatment in such a manner that it will take place in the shortest possible time and that it will smoothly blend into specifically result-oriented outpatient or inpatient care. Intensive care during the hospital stay then makes it possible, in the interest of the citizen, gradually further to shorten the time spent in hospitals in connection with certain illnesses.

The essential prerequisites for the further improvement in health care through outpatient department doctors, primarily in the special fields of general medicine, pediatrics, gynecology, and obstetrics, as well as neurology and psychiatry, include the further planned expansion of the network of care facilities and the increase in the number of available doctors. In 1984, we will have one outpatient physician in the special fields mentioned for every 790 inhabitants. The care level on the whole will thus be raised so that one doctor will be available for every 440 citizens.

The medical and social care potential, created during the 35 years of existence of our republic, the commitment and the degree of qualification of staff personnel in the health and social welfare system as such--these offer the prerequisite for meeting the growing requirements of the citizens as far as their health system is concerned in an even better fashion.

The most significant social gains of the worker-and-peasant state include free medical care for all citizens.

The medical and social care of the GDR population has been improved and expanded in a goal-oriented manner ever since the republic was founded. In 1949, there was one doctor for every 1,429 inhabitants and there was one dentist for every 2,661 inhabitants; in 1983, the figure was one doctor for every 460 citizens and one dentist for every 1,522 citizens. In 1950, the GDR had a total of 184 polyclinics whereas at the end of 1982 there were 577.

In particular, we improved health care for workers in the enterprises. In 1950, we had 36 enterprise polyclinics and 109 enterprise outpatient departments; by the end of 1982, the figures had gone up to 130 or 319. The number of enterprise physician and enterprise nurse slots during the same interval of time rose from 2,369 to 3,382. The total of about 3,800 enterprise health facilities in 1983 provided labor-medicine care for more than 6 million workers.

5058

CSO: 2300/435

OPERATIONAL-TACTICAL MISSILES DEPLOYED IN GDR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 18 Feb 84 p 16

[Article by Gyorgy Szentesi, Lieutenant Colonel, engineer: "Soviet Operational-Tactical Missiles"]

[Text] In a recent issue of the central magazine of the Soviet Army, the KRASNAJA ZVEZDA, they reported on preparatory work being performed in the GDR and Czechoslovakia for the deployment of operational-tactical missiles. The deployment of these missiles is only an answer to the deployment of 572 intermediate range nuclear missiles, primarily the deployment of Pershing 2 in West Germany, to counter-balance American and NATO superiority.

In the recent past it was stated several times that whenever the new American nuclear weapons should appear on our continent, then this would considerably change the European military policy. But how and why would it change? To answer this question we will have to take into consideration that with the Pershing 2's range and speed such first strike equipment for the first time comes into the immediate vicinity of the Soviet Union and endangers tactical targets within the Warsaw Pact countries.

Before their deployment these targets could have been reached only by missiles deployed on nuclear powered submarines from the oceans which surround Europe--approximately within 15-20 minutes. This, however, can be considerably reduced with the Pershing 2 deployed in West Germany since their greatest range (1,800 kilometers) can be covered in about 11 minutes.

The result is the beginning of a highly dangerous tendency started not only in Europe, but also influencing Soviet-American power relations and creating a one-sided advantage for NATO and the United States.

The Soviet Union, in order to restore the balance of power in Europe, decided, in concurrence with the two most directly endangered socialist countries' governments and also taking the time factor into consideration, to deploy operational-tactical missiles on the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Official statements and the article in the KRASNAJA ZVEZDA do not mention the type Soviet missiles, but the "increased range" adjective may be a clue as to what types of missiles will be used with which military targets in West Germany may be endangered, just like the objectives within the socialist community.

We would like to mention that the Soviet military terminology considers those missiles of the ground forces as operational-tactical, where the range of the ballistic missiles is between 100 and 1,000 kilometers. They are capable of delivering nuclear warheads with great accuracy to the target. Organizationally they may be classified as equipment of the field artillery.

The delivery vehicle (the missile) may have solid or liquid propellants. With the new ones, the liquid propellants do not create any problems since the mechanical part of the power plant permits an extended storage of the components so that the missiles are ready for action, not retarded by long lasting refueling.

As far as the construction of the missile is concerned, the warhead is in a cone-shaped form atop the missile. The yield may range from 10 kilotons to only one or two hundred kilotons. The surface-to-surface operational-tactical missiles' (ballistic) trajectory, after the power plant has stopped, is determined by the speed and the position of the missile. After that, on the passive trajectory, it will move an object thrown, in conformity to ballistics. This part of the trajectory is an elliptical orbit with the focus in the center of the earth.

Guidance is possible only while the power plant is in operation, during the active part of the trajectory. For this they usually use the so-called autonomous (independent) program control, which means that before the start they will have to calculate the trajectory from the launching pad to the target. This trajectory is fed as a flight program to the onboard guidance system, which then controls the flight path of the missile. When it reaches the required speed for the range (to reach the target determined) the guiding device shuts off the power plant. With this, the active flight path is terminated and then the free flight, the passive stage, starts.

The basis of the planning of the trajectory is that the flight path with the greatest range should be the so-called optimum--using as little propellant as possible--trajectory. We may add that the largest part of the trajectory of ballistic operational-tactical missiles is above the dense atmosphere and the ceiling (greatest distance from the surface) is approximately one third of the range. The average speed, depending upon the size and the optimum trajectory, is six minutes to cover 500 kilometers and nine minutes to cover 1,000 kilometers.

The operational-tactical missiles are only part of this weapon's system, but really the most important part. Since these are the most effective implements of the field artillery, it must be assured that they are mobile. In previous years they used full track vehicles, today rubber wheeled launching pads. These vehicles are used for the transportation of the missile, testing before the launching, and the input of the flight program. These missiles, almost like the big missiles, are fired from a vertical position from a launching pad and lifted to them with a derrick or a special frame. Part of this branch of the service are vehicles for the transportation, derricks or reloading equipment and if the missile has a liquid propellant, tank trucks and pumps.

As a result of the guiding device which operates even during flight, the operational-tactical missiles are very precise. The dispersion of the modern types, according to technical literature, is a maximum of 150 to 300 meters, which in case of a nuclear warhead taking its destructive force into consideration, means a total destruction of the target.

The first operational-tactical missile units of the Soviet Army's ground forces have a history of three decades. The mass/take-off weight of the present missiles, with the same range and destructive force, is only a fraction of that of its predecessors. Thanks to the development of military technology, the accuracy has greatly increased, just as well as the characteristics of velocity.

Today it is evident that the deployment of new American intermediate range nuclear weapons in Western Europe changes the balance of power; however, the Soviet Union is capable of counter-balancing this by deploying equivalent operational-tactical missiles on the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia, as well as taking action which may effect the territory of the United States. In this way, the balance of power will not change, the military equality will remain, however on a considerably higher armament level. This could have been avoided by signing an agreement in Geneva based on equality and mutual security. The dialogue, however, disregarding the Soviet efforts, was interrupted because of errors committed by the Government of the United States for which the Reagan administration is responsible.

CSO: 2500/338

RESULTS OF WLOCLAWEK PROVINCE REPORTS-ELECTIONS CONFERENCE

Account of Proceedings

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Serving the Workers Is Our Mission--Comrade Krystian Luczak Again First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee"]

[Text] Last Saturday in Wloclawek the PZPR Provincial Reports-Elections Conference was held with the participation of 319 delegates representing the Wloclawek party organization with its more than 31,000 members. The conference, operating under the motto "Party membership is obligatory for leadership in the community," evaluated the 2.5-year term and the reports-elections campaign in the basic links and circles of the provincial party organization, elaborated a program of activity for the next term and elected new officers.

The conference was opened by Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the PZPR KW [Provincial Committee], and its discussions were chaired by Pawel Majewski, the director of the Wieniec Health Resort PP [State Enterprise] in Wieniec-Zdroj; Jan Rogowski, the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] first secretary in the Wloclawek Celuloza factory; Teresa Rosciszewska, an instructor in the Railroad Health Resort Sanatorium in Ciechocinek; and Wladzimierz Socha, a grinder in the Mera KFM in Sloclawek.

Also participating in the discussions were Stefan Olszowski, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs; Zbigniew Gertych, vice marshal of the Polish Sejm; Edward Szymanski, director of the Central Committee Office of Sejm Affairs; Cecylia Sikorska, a member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] Presidium; Col Mieczyslaw Michalik, a member of THE CKKP [Central Party Control Commission]; Stanislaw Szczepanski, deputy minister of agriculture and food economy; Wojciech Kubiak, deputy minister of construction and the construction materials industry; Roman Pstrong, the ZSL WK [Provincial Committee] chairman; Ryszard Tomczewski, the SD Provincial Committee chairman; Deputy Wieslaw Czernik, the chairman of the Provincial Deputies Group; Henryk Pychynski, the WRN [Provincial People's Council] chairman; Tadeusz Gembicki, the Wloclawek governor; and also Ryszard Zawiszewski, PZPR Provincial Committee secretary in Bydgoszcz. Also taking part in the conference were representatives of social and youth organizations,

representatives of many labor work forces, veterans of the labor movement and the chairman of 10 of the largest union organizations in Wloclawek Province. A letter with wishes for fruitful discussions was sent to the conference participants by Roman Blaszk, the chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Provincial Council.

The conference began its work with the election of a mandate commission, an electoral commission, and a commission on resolutions and motions. Then Krystian Luczak, the PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary, presented an address leading into the discussions in the name of the current Provincial Committee Executive Board (an abridged version of this address is published on page 3). The point of departure for the discussions was the Provincial Committee reports materials, previously delivered to the delegates, WKKP [Provincial Party Control Commission] WKR [Provincial Audit Commission] information on the realization of the motions made in the reports period, and information from the governor on the realization of socioeconomic tasks in Wloclawek Province in 1981-1983.

Participants in the morning conference discussions included Tadeusz Lulinski, the director of the Gmina Central School in Brzuz; Zbigniew Szynekiewicz, a farmer from Czernikowo Gmina; Wladyslaw Iolecki, the PZPR City Committee first secretary in Wloclawek; Mieczyslaw Czerniak, the director of the Health Center in Piotrkow Kug.; Roman Czepanski, an expert in the POM [State Machine Station] in Brzesc Kug.; Wladyslaw Kubiak, ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] ZW [Provincial Board] chairman; Irmina Sporna, a teacher in the Gmina Central School in Raciazek; Roman Sieradzki, a department head in the Nitrogen Plants in Wloclawek; Jan Danielecki, a teacher in the Mechanical Schools Association in Lipno; Artur Kwiatkowski, a member of the PZPR Central Committee and a farmer from Rypin Gmina; Urszula Ilenda, a provincial physician; Stanislaw Rucinski, a department head in the Kujaw Dye and Varnish Factory in Wloclawek; and Deputy Wojciech Czernik, who informed the delegates at the conference on the work of the Provincial Deputies Group in recent months (we deal with this discussion on page 3).

Before noon Roman Pstrong, the ZSL Provincial Committee Chairman, and Ryszard Tomczewski, the SD Provincial Committee chairman, also made an appearance. In the name of the provincial organizations in the fraternal parties they wished the conference fruitful discussions in the development of a program of activity which will contribute to further reasonable development of Wroclawek Province, to be achieved with the cooperation of both parties.

In the past term there had been a tightening of close cooperation between the PZPR and the allied parties, and they had jointly faced and solved many of the social problems of the countryside and of small-scale manufacture, and cooperation had assumed a new quality on the PRON level.

A new PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary was elected, Krystian Luczak, the current Provincial Committee first secretary and a delegate of the party organization of the Nitrogen Plants in Wloclawek, ran for this office, and was recommended by the electoral commission, the conference and the Central Committee Politburo. K. Luczak received 306 votes in a secret ballot in which

319 delegates participated and was again elected Provincial Committee first secretary, and became a member of the Provincial Committee and its executive board, which the attendees received with applause.

Then the conference elected a new Provincial Committee (100 people), 30 alternate Provincial Committee members, the WKR (40 persons) and the VKKP (40 members).

After a lunch break the following took part in the discussions: Jan Nowak, a farmer from Topolka Gmina; Onufry Suchomski; WUSW [Provincial Office of Internal Affairs] chief; Jozef Insadowski, a carpenter from the WUSP in Lipno; Alicja Bienkowska, the LKP [League of Polish Women] ZW chairwoman; Jan Czyzewicz, the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Provincial Administration chairman; Jerzy Janisiewicz, the director of POM in Lochocin; Aleksander Semplawski, chief of the Provincial Military Staff; Michal Szadrowski, the PZPR City Committee first secretary in Ciechocinek; Krzysztof Grzadziel, the PZPR Plant Committee first secretary in the Tableware Plant in Wloclawek; Henryk Pychynski, the WRN chairman; Henryk Stawicki, a farmer from Lubraniec Gmina; Stanislaw Antoszewski, PZPR KG [Gmina Committee] first secretary in Tluchow; Slawomir Bors, the SHRO director in Swietoslaw; and Jozef Kopczynski, the Consolidated Gmina School deputy director in Lubienia Kuj.

After the announcement of the election results in the first plenary meetings, the PZPR Provincial Committee met to elect secretaries and an executive board (we are publishing the composition of the Provincial Committee Executive Board and the Secretariat on page 1), and the WKR and WKKP met to elect chairmen and officers for both commissions. Zbigniew Filipiak was again chosen as the WKR chairman. The WKKP postponed its elections until its next meeting.

The next speaker was Stefan Olszowski, the minister of foreign affairs and a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. In his speech he stressed that the Wloclawek Province party organization had passed muster during the recent extraordinarily difficult years, when the party was often missing in factories and in the countryside. We have not only been there, but the party has acquired more and more strength. On the other hand those who strove to eliminate it from the factories and the countryside and to annihilate it, including those from Wloclawek, soon found new homelands in the West. This is an extremely telling fact.

Then S. Olszowski referred to several matters brought up in the conference discussions. One of the most urgent matters to be taken up in Wloclawek Province is assuring water for the countryside. The Kujawy district is beginning to resemble a steppe, and matters referring to reclamation and the construction of water lines cannot be postponed. The renovation of small towns cannot be put off to a better time, either. Therefore, the provincial party organization must devote more attention to the choice of the proper cadres for economic administration, because it is a fact that this system sometimes becomes ossified and forms a barrier to the introduction of economic reform. More attention should also be given to the youth and to conversing

with them. However, these cannot be anonymous talks because the young people must accept--just as their teachers do--responsibility for their attitudes.

Then S. Olszowski took up critical problems in the current international situation and our foreign policy (we are printing extensive excerpts of this speech on page 3).

After discussion the conference adopted a program of activity for provincial organization. At the conclusion of the discussions Krystian Luczak, the Provincial Committee first secretary, took the floor. He emphasized that the conference had produced many concrete conclusions and considerations. Comrade K. Luczak said: "Let us adopt then in our activity. We shall take on these new tasks in close cooperation with delegates at the conference, with basic circles and organizations, and in close contact with the working people of Wloclawek Province."

The conference ended with the singing of the "Internationale."

PZPR Provincial Committee Secretariat and Executive Board

Krystian Luczak, first secretary. Secretaries; Wladyslaw Dolecki, Wojciech Ledwachowski, Wojciech Stefanski and Stanislaw Wawrzonkoski. Executive Board members: Waldemar Bajerowski, lathe operator from the Nitrogen Plants in Wloclawek; Henryk Dojerski, WUSW deputy chief; Tadeusz Gembicki, the Wloclawek governor; Jan Jozefowica, ZG [Provincial Association of Gmina Cooperatives] chairman; Zbigniew Kjerzkowski, a fitter in the Elektron cooperative in Aleksandra Kuj.; Bogumil Kodymowski, director of the District Clinic in Wloclawek; Jozef Kapczynski, deputy director of the Consolidated Gmina School in Lubienie Kuj.; Wladyslaw Kubiak, the ZSMP Provincial Board chairman; Eugeniusz Majer, a worker in the Rypin Shipyards; Henryk Nieweglowski, Stary Radziejow RSP [Agricultural Producer Cooperative] chairman; Aleksander Semplowski, the Provincial Military Staff chief; Henryk Stawicki, farmer from Lubraniec Gmina; Zbigniew Szykiewicz, farmer from Czernikowo Gmina; Jerzy Wlodzimierz Turski, farmer from Fabianka Gmina; Jan Witczek, senior expert in Celuloza; and Stefan Wroniecki, farmer from Kopeck Gmina.

Speeches, Discussion

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Jan 84 pp 3, 5

[Abridged versions of the addresses delivered by Comrade Krystian Luczak, PZPR Provincial Committee first secretary, introducing the discussions, and by Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski]

[Text] Address by Comrade Krystian Luczak

During the past term the provincial party organization went through a difficult period with many painful experiences. The reports-elections campaign coming to an end has confirmed the consolidation of the provincial party organization. Today we are closer to the people and their daily affairs, people

freed from the weight of passivity, and we are acting more consistently and resolutely. There is no doubt that the provincial party organization is still recuperating. Our work often entails a great deal of weakness, because the basic form of our activity must be active work constantly intensified among the broad masses of the people. Initiative and credibility can only be regained by concrete, intelligent activity ensuing from constant listening to the voice of the people. The vital problems of the people referring to working conditions, improvement in the housing situation, commercial work and services should be treated with more consideration. The answer is an honest solution to problems within the framework of existing possibilities. In this respect the responsible role falls upon the basic party organizations.

As its members are, so is the party. During the past term we have tried to reconstruct the aktiv, to improve its skills and to tighten the bonds between party organizations and the work forces. Forms of contact between the authorities and the aktiv and the PZPR rank and file have been intensified, giving it more authority. Awakening the professional and sociopolitical activity of the workers must go hand in hand with the establishment of possibilities of developing constructive criticism in the face of wastefulness, confusion and neglect of elementary obligations. From party circles and POP's [basic party organizations] we expect a more active attitude in analyzing the sociopolitical and economic situation in all of its environments, as well as more effective implementation of party decisions and resolutions.

The battle for new and proper activity will not be free of conflicts. Therefore, we have tried to create both in the party and in public life mechanisms guaranteeing the security of advocates of innovative changes. In this case we demand courage on the part of party members, and simultaneously bestow support on comrades who properly treat the obligation of party control and the battle for socialist principles.

Experience teaches that the elimination of negative phenomena, the creation of a climate of intolerance toward misdeeds, idleness, speculation and enrichment at the cost of honest people and a lack of basic goodwill, the acceptance of difficult problems and their joint solution with interested work forces, and the support which people find in the party are factors determining the effectiveness of party activity. We are looking for bonds with the people in this very way. Faster recovery of the trust of workers and peasants and a guarantee of their wide participation in the work of executive organs and circles are necessary. Nor can we neglect the recovery, for the sake of socialism, of those workers who are in despair or subject to their emotions under difficult dramatic circumstances.

An urgent mission is to convince society that a sharp political battle is still being waged to realize socioeconomic reforms. Ideological training and economic education must be improved. A common system of activity must be set up, using Marxist-Leninist science to develop skill in political activity in conformity with current party tasks. In this respect POP's should have a leading role. The unity and consistency of party activity are formed there. Every organization must not only evaluate the situation in the country, province and community, but must particularly exert an effect on the proper

course of events forming human attitudes and behavior. One of the most important ways leading to effective activity in party organizations is their full exercise of statutory rights with respect to administration. Strengthening political control by means of party members operating in various representative organs and socioprofessional organizations is an effective way to solve critical problems in production, economics, cadre policy, and the working and living conditions of the work forces.

The party establishes its programs in consideration of youth. This has been emphatically confirmed by the Ninth Congress and the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, as well as by our provincial, city, gmina and plant committee programs. We are betting on the youth by guaranteeing them normal living conditions, a vital start and consideration in cadre policy. Convincing young people of the party's program is a key task of circles and organizations. It is our party duty to inspire and assist by socialist associations the youth, embracing 30 percent of the province's citizens up to 30 years old. The success of youth should be based on their work, qualification and personal involvement. Therefore we must make the young people aware that the 40-year-old Polish People's Republic is not all mistakes and distortions. During this period we have constructed and established, in our province as well, many unprecedented features serving the working people.

A strategic direction in party activity still remains the line of understanding with all forces born on socialist soil and a battle line with its opponents. We are achieving an understanding by means of the development and activity of PRON elements, emerging worker self-government and trade unions, by a drop in social tension in factories, schools and in the country, and by an increase in the creative activity of sociopolitical organizations. However, there is still a great deal to do in Wloclawek for the understanding movement to become a social and political level of party and nonparty activities. This is particularly important in the face of the current elections to the people's councils. This must be a time of special devotion and extreme involvement for all party members. We are convinced that our program and PRON proposals, and the candidates backed by us, will obtain universal support.

The formation of a trade union movement is an extraordinarily difficult and complicated process. It is proceeding slowly but systematically in Wloclawek. About 35,000 people, constituting 43.5 percent of all employees, have applied for admission to trade unions. However, there are too few party members in union circles. An increase in our participation would favor an independent and self-governing trade movement to become an important, strong and creative link in socialist democracy.

During this term the Provincial Committee and all of its agencies have tried to obtain public acceptance of economic reform goals as fully as possible. We have stressed that the importance of this undertaking requires thorough party and public control. The balance of current activities in the provincial economy is all the more favorable if we relate it to the conditions under which we shall have to operate. Further improvement must be accompanied by an increase in civic responsibility for what we have in common, publicly. No one can expect anything to happen by itself or that some authority will help him

our in his work. I ask this group to address all inhabitants in Wloclawek Province, all party members, to develop a feeling of responsibility and respect for the common good.

The political struggle is continuing. We, the party aktiv, are in the front lines of this struggle. The strength of our arguments and consistency in implementing party programs in factories, gminas, cities and the province will count in our struggles with out political opponents.

* * *

Address by Stefan Olszowski

Stefan Olszowski, a member of the Politburo and the minister of foreign affairs, presented an alysis of the international situation and, against this background, the struggle to strengthen the international position of our country. He stressed that we are going through a particularly difficult period in the postwar development of the international situation, and that the current state of tension constitutes, for the first time since the "cold war" days, a real threat to peace and world sêcurity.

The American administration bears complete responsibility for its intensification. Its policy is conducted under slogans of an anticommunist crusade and is based on attempts to impair the postwar, Yalta-Potsdam, territorial and political situation in Europe, to create a global antisocialist coalition, and to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist states.

Poland, along with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, is doing everything to prevent a disruption in the strategic balance and to repel this dangerous development of events. This is demonstrated by many initiatives and proposals contained, among other places, in the Prague Declaration of the member states of the Warsaw Pact of 5 January 1983, and in the Moscow Declaration of 28 June of last year. However, none of these proposals by the Warsaw Pact met with constructive reaction from the United States and other NATO countries. Despite the resistance of the people in the countries of Western Europe, the first self-guided rockets and Pershing-2 missiles were brought in, destroying the basis for continuing the Geneva talks. This forced the Warsaw Pact countries into an inevitable need to undertake suitable action to restore the military balance upset by NATO, unfortunately at a new, higher and more dangerous level. Poland is the potential object of attack by strategic weapons in Europe. Therefore we support decisions aimed at protecting the security of the socialist countries.

The speaker emphasized strongly that weakening and questioning the Yalta-Potsdam agreements under the current conditions of our divided continent demonstrate a lack of realism and of a constructive approach to the question of security and peaceful order in postwar Europe and the world. All such types of reinforcement intensify and thus put a strain on the situation, sow unrest and deepen mistrust. Our reasons of state force us to perceive this in close connection with a revival of revisionary forces in the FRG. These

forces are using the cold-war course of American policy for their own politically irresponsible and dangerous goals. In the climate of confrontation between the East and the West there are more and more statements by FRG politicians and attacks against the pact of 7 December 1970, fundamental for our mutual relations. Brandishing a slogan on the right to self-determination, the FRG is simultaneously trying to force ideas of unity to prevail, amounting to the absorption of the GDR. Along with the other socialist countries, we have always opposed such a concept of the territorial and political revision of the status quo in Europe, and we shall resolutely oppose it as a tendency dangerous to peace on our continent.

Another factor intensifying international tension is the United States' use of economic instruments as methods of political pressure. Restrictions levied on economic relations with Poland have not achieved the political goals sought. Poland, as a country particularly affected by the economic boycott of the West, has addressed the international forum with an initiative to develop methods of economic trust. It is winning interest and complete backing in the United Nations.

Pointing out the tactic used by imperialism of bringing about an ideological confrontation in international relations as one of the instruments to intensify the confrontation with the socialist states, the speaker then emphasized that no compromises on the ideological level in relations with capitalist countries are anticipated. However, ideological opposition must not become a factor disrupting international coexistence and threatening cooperation between countries, peace and security. This policy of the West has hampered the dynamics of the process of detente, including the CSCE. Only the consistent attitude of the socialist delegates and a constructive approach by European neutral and nonaligned countries led to a positive conclusion of the Madrid CSCE meeting and the conclusion of an agreement on convoking in Stockholm the Conference on Ways to Build Confidence and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

Minister S. Olszowski stated that this conference was due to initiatives of the socialist states. It is also a subject of special satisfaction for Poland. In view of the interests of European security and basic national interests, for many years we have demanded an approach of resolute steps toward military detente. Polish initiatives regarding the creation in Europe of a central zone free of nuclear weapons and a zone with restricted armaments are well known. At the Madrid meeting we presented one of the main projects regarding the convocation of a conference devoted to matters of military detente and disarmament in Europe. We played an essential role in work on its mandate in Madrid. We have continued the tradition of the special involvement of Poland in matters of European disarmament.

The Stockholm Conference began under conditions of a crisis in East-West relations after the introduction of the new American missiles into Europe, and after the suspension of the armament negotiations in Geneva and Vienna. All of this illustrates its special importance, but also shows how difficult its course may be.

We refer carefully to the position of the European neutral and nonaligned states. We think that at the conference they will try to reduce tension and seek pragmatic solutions which can help strengthen European security.

There is also hope that the policy aiming at the reduction of tension and limiting armaments will gain more and more support from European public opinion, as well as more and more realistic thought from the political forces and their leaders in the West.

Despite the difficulties perceived in the approaching negotiations, Poland is determined, in accord with the best traditions of our foreign policy, to make a constructive contribution to the Stockholm Conference deliberations. In the achievement of a good atmosphere of negotiations and of concrete conference results, we see a means leading to the realization of one of the major goals of Polish foreign policy, the assurance of peaceful conditions for the favorable development of the country, restoration of detente conditions and a strengthening of European security.

The conference also forms an opportunity once more to present the constructive program of a return to detente which the states of the Warsaw Pact have developed.

We place particular stress on the elimination of possibilities of using force in European relations, on emphasizing the extreme importance of the idea of an understanding between the Warsaw Pact states and the NATO countries on not using military force and on the maintenance of peaceful relations. For Poland, as a country located in the center of Europe and particularly threatened in the case of any kind of European conflict, the matter of limiting the possibility of using force in European relations is of special significance.

Let us also confirm our interest in creating non-nuclear zones in Europe, eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons from the European continent, limiting military expenditures, and also in other undertakings serving to reduce tension in Europe.

We would like the Stockholm Conference to initiate a process of return to conditions of European security and to moral international cooperation. The utilization of this opportunity depends on the good will of all of its participants, and especially on the abandonment by the NATO countries of the policy of confrontation and attempts to disrupt the existing balance.

However, we are aware of the fact that the conference in Stockholm is not able to replace the levels of disarmament negotiations so drastically curtailed recently as a result of the American armament policy.

At the opening of the Stockholm Conference the participation of the ministers of foreign affairs of the majority of participating countries was rejected. We greet this fact with satisfaction and we are counting on the fact that bilateral meetings, which will take place on this occasion, can be significant and beneficial for the development of the international situation. We ourselves intend to conduct quite a few such meetings. At the same time we hope

that the Western side will do more than create in public opinion an appearance of continuing the dialogue, while simultaneously implementing the policy of creating the events established in the field of armaments.

At the conclusion of his address the speaker mentioned that this year is the 40th Anniversary of the start of the Polish People's Republic. The democratic forces, which at that time found and outlined the path to a revival of Polish independence, strikingly interpreted the history of national events. In this way they determined the fundamental problem of national sovereignty and the security of the country. A primary achievement of this period is the fact that it made permanent alliances with the USSR and other socialist countries. Poland took its proper place in the socialist community and among the nations of the world, gave permanent guarantees of security and universally recognized its role as one of the major factors in the stabilization of European relations. This international position is indisputable one of the major achievements of the Polish nation in its postwar history. Poland can consolidate and reinforce it only as a socialist country associated with the socialist community by inflexible alliances, with the forces of progress throughout the world, as a country actively and constructively engaged in the implementation of peaceful coexistence, detente and disarmament in European and world relations.

* * *

Summary of Discussion

The discussion was concentrated mainly on the ideological and organizational strengthening of the provincial party organization, the elaboration of methods of effectively fulfilling the leading role in society, accelerating the processes of struggles with the economic crisis in the city and in the country, and on guaranteeing conditions to improve the standard of living.

Among others Wladyslaw Dolecki, Roman Szczepanski, Michal Szadrowski, Jan Danielecki and Artur Kwiatkowski devoted their addresses to problems of increasing the effectiveness of the party, its links and circles, and also to the duties of PZPR members. They said that the party must be characterized by thorough consistency in implementing the resolutions of organizations at all levels. The passage of time or a change in authorities does not eliminate their performance or annul the resolutions. The implementation of the resolutions must be associated with an assignment of missions to all party members, without regard to the functions performed. The party is a living organism and a systematic influx of new members from among the best coworkers must be assured. This will be achieved more easily if the representatives of the party authorities meet more often with factory work forces, and if these contacts are realistic and free of formalism. In recent years party discipline has been relaxed in some circles, and therefore in these places a basic task has been to counter the threat of a split in the party. The atmosphere in the reports-elections campaign just finished shows that this mission has been fulfilled. At present public interest has shifted in the direction of a party solution to everyday problems and complaints. Therefore every economic

achievement (e.g., the satisfaction of residential and communal needs, the development and improvement in the operation of the service and trade networks) counts, especially in small centers. This is a matter of connecting initiatives with control over performance and with concern for their introduction into practice. The role of the basic party circles and groups will increase. This is precisely because they have been in the front lines of the political battle and are currently involved in activities to recover public authority and trust. Their inventiveness cannot be stamped out, because there can be no return to the directive-type methods of party control.

The future of the party is inextricably associated with the education of the younger generation of Poles in the spirit of socialist ideals. Wladyslaw Kubiak, Irmina Sporna, Jan Danielecki, Artur Kwiatkowski, Aleksander Semplawski and others devoted a great deal of space in their addresses to this problem. Socialist youth unions perform an important role in the formation of proper ideological attitudes. The process of recovering strength has already been begun by the ZSMP among rural youth, but the reactivation of ZSMP circles in general education high schools is proceeding with considerable resistance. On the other hand the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] work is usually good in them. A broad and consistent educational front is indispensable. Here an important place falls to the school, the parents and party workers. The decisive majority of teachers properly perform their association duties and responsibilities as educators in the socialist school. However, everyone must do so. In Wloclawek Province the educational base is still far from satisfactory (in this respect concrete needs were pointed out at the conference).

Young citizens must be taught respect for their country in practical life. At the same time there are many examples of the fact that the central administrations, which are supposed to facilitate the start of young people, run into bureaucratic resistance and restraints in the field (among other things, this refers to single-family construction).

Among others, Tadeusz Lulinski spoke on matters pertaining to the formation of public attitudes. In order to exercise an effect on these attitudes, it is necessary to recognize and introduce into practical activity such public norms as respect for work, concern about public property and its increase, the association of individual interests with public interests, skill in collective activity, and respect for the law and personal dignity of man.

Among others, Roman Sieradzki, Krzysztof Grzadziel and Stanislaw Rucinski spoke on the subject of industrial plants under the conditions of introducing the economic reform. The economic reform affects all fields of activity in the country. The public does not sufficiently appreciate the fact that improvement in their living depends on the success of the reform. Worker self-government should also be aware of this. An increase in production and an association of individual and group interests with those of the general public must be a concern of party organizations in factories. Many areas require improvement, e.g., there is still a lack of clear wage criteria (wages are still outdistancing income). Economic difficulties have deepened the rupture between town and country. For the money obtained as a result of his work, the farmer

has not been able to buy very much, and this has weakened his motivation to increase the production of food. This dangerous cycle has already been broken.

Urszula Ilenda and Mieczyslaw Czerniak devoted their talks to the functioning of the social health service and social care. They emphasized that in Wloclawek Province a great deal of neglect has been observed in this field for a long time. The doctors are overtaxed (there are 11 of them per 10,000 in the province, compared to 18 in the country as a whole), and their medical base is outmoded.

However, there are some signs of improvement, e.g., the modern hospital recently put into service in Lipno. The high rate of absenteeism caused among workers by illness is upsetting. They said that it is a good thing that the country provides social care for people incapacitated by old age or disease. However, it must be recalled that the main obligation of care rests on the families, and that it is not right to place all burdens on the shoulders of the public as a whole.

A great deal of attention in the discussions was devoted to the problems stemming from the agricultural nature of Wloclawek Province, occupying the second place in the country from the viewpoint of goods production. Zbigniew Szykiewicz, Jan Nowak, Jerzy Janisiewicz, Henryk Stawicki, Jozef Kopczynski and Slawomir Bora spoke on the possibility of further growth in agricultural production. This is a complex process requiring more effective political activity on the one hand and, on the other hand, improvement in supplying the countryside with machinery, equipment, building materials and a solution to the water shortage problem. The good results achieved by the Kujawy-Dobrzyn rural area are largely the result of the process of stabilizing sociopolitical life and the development of self-government organizations. Among others, Henryk Stawicki stated that, jointly with party organizations, they must stimulate agricultural production in agreement with the interests of the entire nation. He also stressed the need for more efficient work by the local administration and by agricultural service units. Delegates stressed the need to eliminate waste, both in fodder economy and in farm-food processing. On the other hand, they were satisfied by local industry taking on production for agriculture.

Stanislawa Antoszezewska and Jozef Insadowski, among others, spoke on the participation of party members in forming the union movement in Wloclawek. The trade unions constitute an essential forum for the exchange of opinions and ideas on the subject of changes occurring in the political and socioeconomic life of the country. Therefore, their opinions should be sought more often. Also associated with this question is the problem of wider participation of party members in the work of representative, self-government and collective organs. Among others, Henryk Pychynski stressed the need to count on PZPR members active in public corporations. This matter assumes special significance in the face of the approaching elections to the people's councils. The best comrades, favored by public trust and authority, should be among the party candidates for the representative organs.

Normalization of sociopolitical and economic life is also greatly dependent on the state of public order and security. This fact was stressed by Onufry Suchomski, who talked about the increase in public discipline. The atmosphere in large labor collectives has also clearly improved. However, the increase in delinquency, especially of a criminal nature, and waste of public property are disconcerting. During the discussions Alicja Bienkowska, the chairperson of the Provincial administration of the League of Polish Women, and Jan Czyzewicz, the chairperson of the ZBoWiD Provincial Administration, stressed the great role of social and combatant organizations in forming the consciousness of the inhabitants of Kujawy and the Dobrzyn area.

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CSO: 23600/783

PZPR DELEGATES CONFERENCE PREPARATIONS NOTED

Mokrzyszczak Issues Statement

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 84 pp 1,2

[Article by (PAP): "Taking Advantage of Opportunities and Chances"]

[Text] The preparations for the National Conference of Party Delegates in Warsaw are virtually finished just hours before the conference itself begins. On 14 March the final meetings of the conference participants, i.e., of the delegates to the Ninth Party Congress, have taken place in party organizations with the various work forces. The Warsaw party organization is already prepared to accept the delegates. Delegations from the individual provinces will begin arriving in the capital today. The implementation of the slogan on the Central Committee building that "the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress are the program for progress in our socialist fatherland" belongs to the tasks facing the participants.

Taking Advantage of Opportunities and Chances

Statement by Central Committee Commission Chairman Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak

Candidate Politburo member, Central Committee secretary and vice chairman of the Central Committee IntraParty Commission Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak was interviewed the day before the beginning of the proceedings at the National Party Conference by the Polish Press Agency. During this interview he pointed to the most important experiences of this commission since the Ninth Congress.

"The guiding principle of the IntraParty Commission appointed at the Second Central Committee Plenum remains above all the utilization of the opportunities and chances created by the Ninth Party Congress for the rebirth and reconstruction of party unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology. In this same context, we need to have a look at the experiences of our commission, which deals with the problems of intraparty life and those issues associated with the party's execution of its leading role in society and management of the state.

"A comprehensive evaluation of these experiences at the halfway point of our term in office will be made by the participants of the National Conference of Delegates.

"Without trying to do the evaluation ourselves, we have, however, a basis on which to state that the past 2 and ½ years have been a period of real party rejuvenation, enhancement of ideological identity and the reconstruction of political and organizational unity based on the principles of democratic centralism and intraparty democracy. This was proved recently during the reports-elections campaign from party elements and echelons all the way to the provincial level. It was a time when the party sought to win the trust of the working class and credibility and influence with society. The party saw the restoration of Leninist norms to intraparty life.

"In the balance of all this is a certain contribution to the party by the IntraParty Commission which, from the moment of its appointment, has already held 18 sessions. These sessions conducted business dealing with various analytical and research efforts associated with, among other things, the preparation of the Central Committee plenary sessions, the development of draft documents presented to the Central Committee, and proposals for the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat. We participated actively in preparing concepts and formulating organizational solutions which serve the consolidation of basic party organizations and improvement in the efforts of party echelons. If memory serves me, the commission discussed during its sessions such important draft documents as "The Guiding Principles of the Politburo" with regard to the conduct of the party reports-programs campaign at the end of 1982 and beginning of 1983 and, most recently, the reports-elections campaign. We also dealt with the draft rules for the election of delegates, leaders and party control agencies (this document has been presented to the National Conference of Delegates for its consideration), as well as with proposals having an impact on the principles and methods of party consultation procedures. An evaluation of party membership numbers and class makeup, as well as a list of proposals made by members, along with the procedures for the supervision and control of their implementation, occupied a prominent place in our work.

"Information of the Party Central Committee on the implementation of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions to be presented to the participants of the national conference will stress that, although the party is numerically smaller today, it is very much stronger. The process of its ideological and political consolidation is ongoing. The party has kept its mass and class character. Workers and peasants make up nearly one-half of the total membership. The number of new party members is growing systematically. If we consider the complicated and difficult political conditions of our times, this points to the profound idealism of our new candidates and, more importantly, the political attractiveness of party ideas and its platform.

"Understandably enough, particular attention was paid by our commission during its sessions to methods of assisting the efforts of party echelons and organizations. A "Guide for the Basic Party Organization" was developed and disseminated. We have been collecting comments and opinions with regard to this so as to publish a new and improved version of it. We noted with satisfaction

that the activities of many party organizations are obvious to the public, and that these activities are systematic and continuous. This is immensely significant with regard to our efforts to strengthen party ties with the working class and working people generally. I am convinced that the National Conference of Delegates will devote much space to these issues, especially in order to determine the level of differentiation in activity on the part of basic party organizations and to smooth out their offensive and dynamic drive "to the top." All of us in the party realize that there are still immense untapped reserves in many areas of party activity. The tasks delineated by the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress require further development, an increase in initiative and a removal of the existing obstacles and barriers to a consistent consolidation of party organization and political unity. An awareness of this in the party's ranks is spreading ever more extensively. This was strongly demonstrated by the reports-elections campaign and party meetings and conferences setting the program for their activities leading up to the 10th Party Congress.

Delegates Describe Preparations

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 84 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jozef Jaczewski by Henryk Berski: "Delegates Are Saying: 30 Years and 32 Months"]

[Text] One of the people we interviewed immediately before the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress was Comrade Jozed Jaczewski, foreman in the tool department of the Kasprzak Radio Works. Today, almost 32 months after this interview, we return to several of his comments.

[Question] We began then with the affirmation that you have known the party for 30 years. Today, this period of acquaintance is of course longer. In your party life, was all this a period of both intensive work and the accumulation of experience?

[Answer] Of course. Turning my thoughts today to that time forces me to admit that it was certainly one of the most difficult periods in the history of our party and plant organization. That which the party reconstructed was also reconstructed by us at our plant. We are talking about our position in society and our place among the work force. We know how difficult it was and how the deteriorating living standards did not help the matter, either. We faced a political opponent who was supported from abroad, while at the same time we had to implement the tasks specified by the Ninth Party Congress. Despite these difficulties, the organization in which I am a secretary did not suspend its activities for a moment. Both executive board and branch party organization meetings took place. Many meetings were open to the public. We dealt consistently with proposals and our own resolutions, talked to people about the economic reform and met with young people. We are trying to explain and clarify to our close associates the party's goals and aspirations, how the party has tried to pull the country out of this crisis, and how the party really wants for every person and every worker in Poland to live better. Conversations can vary and are difficult, but we are bound to do this because

of the resolutions of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. This is how we will reconstruct the ties of the party with the working class and win the trust of this class.

[Question] When we talked in July 1981, you expressed the hope that there will always be enough people who are ready to defend that which is just in the party and also good for Poland.

[Answer] Yes, and I will support it. These 2 million people who stayed with the party approached their tasks intelligently. Everyday experience proves this. Such people can be found in our plant organization. We have undergone a severe trial, but we held out.

[Question] What do you think about what you once called the need to change the style of party work?

[Answer] This is already being done in practice and is demonstrated by the greatly informal contacts we have with the people. The inclination to volunteer only at the highest levels of leadership has been overcome; a new style of work is now evident in the Central Committee and consultations play an important role. Party members have been reminded of their duty to criticize and self-criticize. This has turned out well for the party. The significance of the first line of battle has increased; basic organizations are everywhere in the plants. This is how we need to go farther, but we also need to be looking for ways to enrich our new style.

[Question] You also said then that little attention was paid to the opinions of the working class in the proceeding 10 years. What do you think now after 32 months?

[Answer] It is a totally different thing now. There are still shortcomings, but the image of life in Poland and the image of the party are fundamentally different from what they were 2 and ½ years ago. People are now consulted about decisions important to them before they are made. A good example was the reaction following the return to meat rationing when only ministers and others had consulted with regard to the impact of this measure.

[Question] What are you going to do at the conference?

[Answer] I am bringing many proposals and suggestions from our organization and I am obligated to deliver them to the appropriate commission. Issues often recur which have an impact on social justice and the fight against speculation. Things are worst of all for the working people. Speculators are getting rich at their expense. On the other hand, we have not seen anything which suggests that this will change soon.. We are continuing to fight speculation, but we need something for every day. We need to get away from trying to make it rich not only in the party.

Army Delegates Characterized

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Mar 84 pp 1,2

[Article by Leszek Ziolo: "The Most Important Task Facing Us Is the Shaping of the Awareness of Young People"]

[Text] One hundred and twenty-five delegates participating in the proceedings of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress wore military uniforms. They too will represent the Armed Forces party organizations at the National Conference.

The three officers to be presented here have served for years in the Warsaw Military District and are prominent political and social activists.

Colonel Wacław Purchala is chief of the Provincial Military Staff in Zamosc and a member of the Provincial Committee Executive Board.

In an interview with a journalist, the colonel emphasizes that for the entire period since the Ninth Party Congress, the party has been implementing a program of socialist rebirth. Those were years of persistent activity, intensive organizational work and reconstruction of the ties with the masses and trust in the party. He will speak of all this at the conference, particularly because the tasks currently facing the party are no less important. The political struggle is far from over. The aggressive policies of NATO, especially the United States, complicate the situation. The times are not easy and for this reason unity, internal law and order and a well-organized effort are needed.

"The problem of participation on the part of the younger generation of Poles in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country is acquiring particular significance. How we settle this problem interests me for at least two reasons. As chief of the Provincial Military Staff, I am responsible for recruiting young people from Zamosc for military service and would like for all of them to be well prepared to carry out their obligations as citizens with regard to defending the fatherland. I would also like to find activists from young people's organizations among them and have their opinions vis-a-vis military service always be positive."

Colonel Wacław Sliwa is an experienced officer and instructor of soldiers. He believes that shaping the awareness of the young generation belongs to the most important tasks facing the party.

"This shaping is particularly important in a military context, inasmuch as it impacts directly on the level of discipline which is the essence of how well the Armed Forces perform. The source of disciplined attitudes, i.e., with regard to the Army's efficiency and combat performance, is awareness on the part of the citizen, the awareness of young people deeply involved in the process of socialist rebirth. These attitudes are the best result of persistent ideological-educational work which is directed and inspired by party organizations."

Colonel Richard Dmochowski has been a political officer for many years. Today he is the chief of the Provincial Military Staff in Krakow.

"Since the Ninth Party Congress, the party has attached great importance to public consultation and to hearing what the public thinks about all important issues before binding decisions are made. Like other delegates, I have attended many meetings in various places. I have tried to get as many opinions as possible on the documents to be deliberated on at the National Conference of Delegates.

"I intend to work during the conference with the team dealing with law and legal proceedings compliance. For me personally the most important issue here is public discipline. I am interested because I am a city councilor in Krakow. Many party documents stress emphatically that there is no economic progress or improved living standards without discipline. A decisive majority of our society completely shares this opinion, but much work is still needed to develop a deeper sense for the need of social discipline among our people."

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'NOT' WEEKLY RELEASES FULL TEXT OF ANTI-REFORM OPEN LETTER

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 15, 8 Apr 84 pp 22-23

[Unabridged version of open letter to Stanislaw Albinowski, contributor to TRYBUNA LUDU, member of Government Economic Reform Commission, from Wieslaw Jurewicz, chairman, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] Science and Technology Committee for Economics and Economic Reform; for additional background on abridged version as originally published in TRYBUNA LUDU on 28 Feb 84 see also JPRS EAST EUROPE REPORT, EPS-84-047 pp 28-39]

[Text] The chairman of the NOT Science and Technology Committee for Economics and Economic Reform sent an open letter to editor Stanislaw Albinowski. Since only excerpts from this letter were published in TRYBUNA LUDU (issue No 50 of 28 February 1984), it has generated considerable interest among members of the engineering profession. And in view of the fact that this letter numbered only 11 editorial format pages (not 14 pages as was noted in TRYBUNA LUDU), we are running below the letter in its entirety. Text segments deleted by TRYBUNA LUDU are indicated in boldface type [set off by slantlines].

In connection with the editor's article entitled "Economists and Engineers," published in last year's final issue of TRYBUNA LUDU, I am taking the liberty of submitting some thoughts of my own that the article has engendered.

/There are many factors which, as we have witnessed over the past several years, have combined to bring about a shift in perceptions of the economic management systems operating in the countries of our socialist camp and in perceptions of the sets of economic control levers which are supposed to encourage these systems to perform more efficiently. In a variety of public statements, debates, and articles emphasis is being placed on the need to do a better job of meeting growing public demands and moving more quickly toward the modernization of this country's technical infrastructure. This record of open discussion is a credit to Poland's economic management system and its system of economic control levers.

It is no coincidence that the intensification of this debate on ways to reform both of these interrelated systems coincided with the onset of growing economic difficulties. Yugoslavia and, later on, Hungary anticipated this course of events and moved sooner to institute economic reforms, but these reforms still did not save them from the economic difficulties which they are now experiencing.

Among all of our neighboring socialist countries and in a few other more remote ones there is not a single country which has not embarked on the road to economic reform. Several of these countries are going about this without generating a lot of publicity, and this is something for which they deserve praise since, in so doing, they are displaying much social and political maturity in terms of both their internal and international relations.

So, this is an appropriate time to/ add a handful of comments on the subject of the directions of the reform of the system of management and the economic system, /also including the management and economic systems which operate/ in Poland. The first question that comes to mind is: Must the system be reformed by transforming it into a system like the capitalist one? In the documents of the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress, it is written that "the economy will function on the basis of central planning and the use of market mechanisms..." (thesis No. 35, KRG [Economic Advisory Council]). Notwithstanding, many solutions in the economic reform indicate that clearly different tendencies dominate. This has happened due to the overwhelming presence of forces acting on behalf of the application of extreme solutions. This system of operation is very deeply rooted in our mentality. We cannot ignore the fact, however, that the avowed opponent of the planned economy, in the course of the political struggle that has been being waged in our country, has successfully forced through a number of solutions that have been effective in causing chaos and disorganization in economic life. This has led to the formerly unnoted increase in inflation and, thereby, to tremendous losses for society.

Should not our entire intellectual effort be directed toward projecting the sort of modernization of organizational and economic systems that could improve considerably the operation of old systems? Such a method is applied universally in the world of engineering. Reason dictates that we approach organizational and economic problems in the same way. The first thing an intelligent design engineer does is draw up an ideal model of what his project will ultimately look like. Next, he draws up a second design plan showing how the ideal model will be arrived at. This second design plan is always based on how things stand to start off with. It serves as a clamp forging a link between reality and ideal transformations of that reality.

In our experience with efforts to reform the economic system /this second type of design plan has never been drawn up./ Completely new, uncoordinated mechanisms were to be put into operation from day to day. We know what this has led to, and we also know how realistically it has been assessed by the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Sejm.

The authors of the reform currently use various arguments to justify what has happened.

They say:

--that when the reform was set in motion, the market was unstable, there was no glut on the market and in general only bad conditions prevailed;

--that we are still in debt for dollars;

--that the reform is an enormous, very difficult undertaking in which we must experiment;

--that those opponents of the reform found within the administrative apparatus do the most damage and that is why we must reorganize and markedly reduce this apparatus;

--that the reform has not been put into practice consistently in its ultimate version;

--that at least something is changing for the better in the economy.

It is difficult to take these arguments seriously.

If economic stability, a market glut and other conditions favorable for society had existed several years ago, who would have been so strongly in favor of economic reform? Only those that have long been in favor of changing not only the economic system but the system in Poland, or those who stood to gain by causing tremendous commotion and economic decline. /Only the conditions and state of affairs in which a given country actually finds itself, as opposed to "dreams" and visions whose realization cannot be accomplished over the span of just a few years, can serve as a point of departure for the drafting of reforms./

Other socialist countries are in debt for dollars, and their debts are significant. In some countries, the per capita debt is higher than in Poland. In these countries, however, the production increases are several times greater than in Poland. Thus, despite the debt, the economy is able to grow.

/Something which one group of people feel compelled to regard as a test subject for experimentation may strike another group of people as something self-evident and well-known for a long time. Thus, the job of reforming things should be handled by people with a lot of economic knowledge and experience, and mainly in the industrial sector of the economy for that matter, people who are not under the influence of any economic interest groups, people who are independent and take into consideration not narrow, parochial interests, but rather the general public interest. There is no one who could question that such people exist in Poland today, and this is in reference to people in both the older and younger generations of professionals. And, so, this is a question of choosing the right people to man the teams mapping out the

economic reform program, people with broadest possible backgrounds in the fields of engineering and economics. After all, what we are reforming here is the economy, an institution which is "technical in nature" and activated by appropriate kinds of economic control levers.

What would any honest reform planner do if he were to wind up becoming a member of the administrative apparatus and if he were to say that he is not capable of handling the duties expected of him in his present assignment, noting above all that he is not able to shoulder the responsibility of sometimes being held accountable for the fate of society as a whole, all because mistakes were made in the course of setting up the new system. The simple fact of the matter is that mistakes are often made on the "know-how" side of things. Strictly speaking, it is not the reform planners who are accountable for the performance record of the economic reform program, but rather the members of the governmental apparatus, people in whom the public at large is anxious, in spite of everything, display a large dose of confidence. There is no other way at all to go about this. The government most certainly has an interest in putting its own administrative apparatus to work in order to harness good ideas which produce tangible benefits./ The fact that the reform has not been implemented consistently in its ultimate version is no justification for its failure. Conditions for the full implementation of forecasters' plans do not exist, nor will they exist for a long time. That is why updates are indispensable that make the reform realistic. For example, the creation of a competitive production structure needs time, large outlays and a good program for creating new small, intermediate and, if need be, large competitive enterprises.

I cannot agree that the situation has improved, when most enterprises that are involved in processing are using 50 to 60 percent of their production potential, and some are producing at levels just over 30 percent of their production volume several years ago. While this is occurring with a slight decline in employment, it is disproportionately smaller than the production decline. Wages have increased sharply and prices have jumped unjustifiably. This situation continues. Small wonder that such phenomena occur, when until recently the taxation system functioned to increase the costs of production and to curb production, and the price system still works in the same direction. Our crisis is a supply, not a demand, crisis. Every production increase must count. The previously-mentioned phenomena lead to an increase in inflation. One need not exert himself to look for other causes. /So, as can be seen, we have a lot of unfinished business to catch up on./

The recently enacted amendments to the basic laws on prices, enterprise self-financing and their socioeconomic taxation system raises warranted hopes that the economy will be able to be revitalized through the most intensive operation of enterprises in directions that are more desirable than those taken in the past.

I agree with the editor when he says that we must define the goals of economic activity. Engineers have long believed that these goals are primarily the needs of society that must be systematically recognized, projected and modeled

over the longest time perspective possible. This is the fundamental task of the central planner that works in the interest of society.

When an engineer served in the capacity of one of the chairmen of the Planning Commission [KP], analyses of our society's needs and projections and models of these needs were the subject of the efforts of a bureau that was specially set up for this purpose within the KP. Over the course of under 2 years of its existence, this team generated much valuable data. But the following chairman, an economist, dissolved the team and scattered the results of the work among private household archives.

/Doing an increasingly better job of responding to public needs is mainly contingent on the consistent implementation of the principle whereby all sectors of the socialist economy are called upon to be responsive to present and future public needs. This principle derives from a couple of elementary conclusions. In order to be able to do a proper job of defining current economic tasks and the thrust of the changes that need to be made in the structure of production one ought to:

- be informed about society's current needs and go about the task of fashioning sensible and scientifically well-founded models of society's future needs,
- be continuously well-informed about the capabilities of the economy's manufacturing and service sectors and about the capabilities of those enterprises operating in these sectors that produce essential goods for consumers,
- make choices on how to meet society's needs by relying on domestic industry, co-production arrangements with other countries, and also by relying on imported goods,
- based on the findings of the aforementioned studies, forecasts, and programs, bring influence to bear on manufacturing industries and on those sectors of the economy which are supposed to supply capital goods to firms producing finished goods and consumer goods,
- and proceed on this basis to encourage the formation of a properly structured pattern of industrial production and foreign trade and also define the direction of needed scientific research work./

In the West, structural changes are made at the risk of the personal fortunes of the proprietors of concerns, enterprises and handicraft. The resultant losses are great, for when several producers rush forward to meet consumer needs, the combined total of the financial and material means committed is significantly greater than it would be if this were implemented under a planned economy. However, we must plan well. /In order to do this we need sensible, intelligent people who know how to think in broad terms. We need people who do not look upon the socialist system and the planned economy as the source of all of our misfortunes, but rather as a system with a future provided that it is wisely streamlined in a manner that takes into account prevailing realities./

Incidentally, I would like to ask the editor, as an economist, while there has not yet been created a system for assessing the expediency of developmental tasks from the viewpoint of the benefits to society in general. We are still bogged down in a system for calculating the potential earnings performance of a given business organization that is patterned after the capitalist system. /Indeed, in a recent official instruction which came to my attention there was one phrase that went more or less like this: ", but, in addition, one should also estimate the general economic benefits to society as a whole...." So, the upshot is that this issue was left unresolved. Having been interested once upon a time in encouraging people to take on a project dedicated to the formulation of methods for drawing up this sort of social cost-benefit analysis, I invited a few of our best economic experts, who to this day are still very highly regarded, to join me in such a venture. After I laid out the problem before them, they proclaimed that they did agree with me as to the merits of such a project, but that in order to carry it out it would be necessary to launch into an in-depth study on technical matters. They did not feel that they were qualified to do this.

So, our professional economists failed to enrich their fund of knowledge with new methods which would have been good for the economy as a whole, and not just for some individual enterprise. Some engineers have done some work along these lines out of a desire to prove that it could be done. I am convinced that they are contributing a great deal to our store of knowledge about this problem area./

With regard to your other points, Mr Editor, we think along totally different lines. While we do not disagree with regard to the merits of the issue of leading our economy along the road of its normal functioning and development, we part company with respect to the assessment of the methods that should be used for this and the assessment of the areas of expertise that can do this best.

I do not share the view that the economist must attend primarily to the goals of activity and the engineer must focus mainly upon operational methods. This is an essential error in the assessment of the engineer's work. If he first did not define the goals of his work, he would not be in a position to select the proper methods to achieve them. This truth is so obvious that we stopped discussing it a long time ago. It is axiomatic. /This is one of the axiomatic truths that gave rise to the notion of "management by objectives."/

At the conclusion of your article, you express your...economist's view...of the need to save the economic reform, but without...touch-up operations... [ellipses denote deletions appearing in both abridged and unabridged versions].

One senses that you bear a grudge against engineers for having brought about these touch-up operations, which I can say with satisfaction is not very far from the truth. You express your grievances against engineers by expressing such opinions about them as the one that they are only able to count to two in a zero-one system. This compels me to point out several essential issues.

I had the good fortune to work for many years with economists in enterprises that worked with engineers to develop efficiency and innovative measures in the economy, aware as they were of the weak impact of the economic system. They had to work within a system they themselves had not created. It had been imposed on them by high-level economists whose names out of the past and present I could readily mention. The list is by no means shorter than the list of engineers that performed the highest functions within the state.

What are the in-house economist in a business enterprise and his engineer colleague to do if the laws of the system of the method established by the body of the highest-placed economists do not fit reality?

[More or less one third of Poland's population is employed directly in industry, agriculture, construction, and other sectors of the economy. They are witnesses to what is going on in our enterprises on a day-to-day basis, and I assure you that they are aware of the reasons why so much of our nation's wealth is lying idle.] It is not the shortages of raw materials and fabricating materials that are the principal cause of the falloff in industrial production in relation to levels before 1980 and its present snail's pace growth. Nor even is it the shortage of foreign-made parts and component assemblies that is doing so much to hinder the growth of industrial production. As if there was no room or need for effort, ideas, and initiative. /In order to explain more precisely what I mean by this I will cite an example from the world of engineering. The willingness to work hard has to be there. There also has to be a "suction pump" which draws in initiative, ideas, and innovations. This pump will work only when it is powered by an engine. But the engine too is useless unless electricity is flowing through the cables connected to it. According to this metaphor, this current and these cables stand for economic decision-making systems, laws, and regulations. These are the things that make the engine and the pump work.

I know what our industry is capable of doing, and this is why I wish that the electricity flowing into this pump engine would be of such a voltage, intensity, and frequency as to permit the harnessing of its full power and capacity. This cannot be done unless an effort is made to set up a kind of system which will bring pressure to bear on business enterprises, a system of pressures which, to a certain extent at least, would take the place of the kind of pressures which are exerted on businesses in a capitalist economy. Engineers have been coming forward with proposals along these lines./

Throughout the industrial world, a high level of economic achievements is attained primarily through technology and organization stimulated by means of the operation of the economic system. They are necessary to this system.

/It really is a shame, Mr Albinowski, that you did not pursue your engineering studies. If you had, you could have found out for yourself that/ in the polytechnical schools, students are provided with knowledge from the fields of machine design and production (technology) and from the area of production organization management and economics. The professors that once taught me said that a good designer is one that knows how to construct a machine he

has designed and how much it will cost to produce it. Today I teach my students the same thing. /Whether this machine turns out to be cheaper or more expensive to produce depends on the evolution and interrelationships of the various drawings which the design engineer maps out on his drafting table. The machine's practicality, a factor which has a critical impact on the end user's operating costs, also depend on this. Throughout the design phase, and not just after a newly designed product goes in production, the "cost-benefit analysis" process is constantly under way at the drafting table of a good design engineer./

Economic thought is an attribute of the engineer. He does not only count to two, but he does count with the aid of sometimes very complex models that render the process of the laws governing various phenomena. /Thus, it is of the utmost importance that those people who are called upon to map out the course of economic events in business enterprises should really know what these events are all about and come up with flawless formulas for dealing with them./ In this brief reply to your article, it is impossible for me to discuss the many other aspects of the issue. But I believe that what I have already written shows that we do not think, computer-like, in zero-one terms. Incidentally, this machine came into being as a result of the genius of the engineer's mind. Its purpose (and not its method) was to be the tremendous expansion of the potential of the utilization of knowledge, including statewide knowledge, primarily for planning and decision-making.

We cannot reduce the role of the engineer to a workhorse that is incapable of assessing the goals and results of the activities of those in other professions, some of whom think they have a monopoly on knowledge in economic matters.

Respectfully,

[signed] Docent Dr of Engineering Wieslaw Jurewicz, chairman of the NOT
Science and Technology Committee for Economics and Economic Reform

CSO: 2600/920

ACADEMIC UNDERSCORES INHERENT FLAWS OF 'POLITICIZED' ECONOMY

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 13, 25 Mar 84 p 17

[Article by Dr Izabela Szupejko, Silesian Polytechnical Institute of Social Sciences: "Economics or Politics"]

[Text] It would seem that in the last 3 years everything has already been written in our country on the subject of the system of functioning of the economy. In works on this subject almost all the faults and virtues of both centralized and decentralized systems have been pointed out. Many arguments (in my opinion, all) speak for the need to change the system of functioning in the direction of decentralization. Meanwhile, I am convinced that reform and its notorious "three s's" are more an attempt to compromise this system, and as a result of this, to return to the command-distributive system familiar to us, than a will to achieve actual changes in the system of functioning of our economy that are not convenient at this time.

Partisans of this form of managing the economy are increasing in number. L. Podkaminer in the article, "Is the Reform Reformational?" (POLITYKA No 49/83) [see JPRS EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS, JPRS-EEI-84-012, 25 Jan 84 pp 71-75] writes "...it is difficult to understand clearly why the universal 'reacting against' excesses of economic policies of the 1970's assumed a form of head-on condemnation of the command-distributive system and simultaneously a simplistic affirmation of the market-decentralized system. Indeed the essence of the command-distributive system is not in itself 'directing' the actions of enterprises, but mainly constantly watching over the preservation of true proportions among directives sent to specific individuals. This and only this purpose was to be served by the complicated and costly central balancing of resources and production from which were to flow the planned tasks and resources placed at the disposal of specific sections, branches, companies, and plants."

As a result we have yet another partisan of the view that the command-distributive system that led to the crisis will succeed in extricating the economy from the crisis. I am skipping at this time the matter of the ties between politics and economics. These lead to the conviction that the source of this crisis lies not only in economic causes, but primarily in political causes in my opinion. There is, therefore, no other, better method of adapting the structure of production to the structure of demand than through the mechanism of the market. The question arises at this point as to why attempts to reform the economic system in Poland in the direction of decentralization

end in failure. In the last few months, economic theory supplied many convincing answers to this question.

From my point of view, I believe that the cause actually lies in the mechanism of functioning of the economy. This pertains mainly to the central control of the economy and its component elements, that is, the system of planning and management. The result of the highly ineffective central system is not only market imbalance, but economic imbalance.

One of the reasons for holding on to the centralized system is the structure of economic organization that has been set up, which the functioning system of management creates specifically for itself. In our case, it has the form of a pyramid, is based on a multirung, hierarchically constructed management apparatus. It is adapted to the function of "aggregating and disaggregating" various sizes of the plan, not to the actual management of the economy. Because as the years went by, the center assumed ever more specific operative functions linked with the economic sphere, the organizational pyramid is growing in every direction, horizontally and vertically. To the extent that we may even admit that a system of this kind was necessary in the first years after the war, and that in those times it fulfilled its function in a positive way, then as the years passed, it became a real, although not the most important brake. Burying itself in various kinds of regulations, precepts and prohibitions, quite frequently contradicting each other, the center, together with its whole structure, stopped controlling the economy. Reforming this system devolved instead into attempts to preserve the power and advantages of central planning and to let market mechanisms and economic stimulation have a voice so that economic organizations would act on principles of microeconomic rationality without threatening the interests of society in general. But is this possible? Practice indicates that the center, as a result of entering into all reform trends, can reinforce its position. Thus, one of the balancing mechanisms that remains is this same command-distributive mechanism that creates imbalance. One set of commands and limits gives way to the next. In this way, the system itself is maintained, always struggling with the imbalance it has created. The problem is always there.

Here the question arises as to whether serious efforts were made to reform the system of functioning of the economy or only the system of planning or management. A. Rychard answers this question, stating that..."Reform was a change only in the system of management, the system of planning remained unchanged. To the extent that the system of planning is also a process strongly affecting transformations in the structure of power itself, we may say that if reform had been carried out at the same time, the reform would not have been easy to manipulate and neutralize." At this point we come to the ties of politics with economics and the mechanisms by which the strains in the social and economic sphere are reproduced, that is, the political and economic cycle.

The view of the primacy of politics over economics in a socialist economy is known. It is expressed in the diminished significance of economic control and the growing role of ideological control. Ties of this kind result in strongly binding the economic cycle to the political cycle.

On my part, I believe that solving these problems is the key to the reform being carried out at present. There is no other road for reform except beginning it from the center itself. Unfortunately this problem is receiving less attention than other problems that may be even more important particulars of the present reform. This problem has been postponed to a later plan.

Meanwhile, despite the fact that one of the principles of the reform was to have been liquidation of some of the central administrative apparatus, the number of ministries is increasing. Certainly it is actually the central administrative apparatus that is one of the most real brakes in every reform. In effect the center remains the only institution that knows "best" what society needs, decides what the political and social needs are, and carries out the goals it itself designates. The central plan is a concretization of the policies, and an incompetent system of managing (or rather, administering) the economy results in producers not being able to use a method of rational management. At any rate, it is not used at any rung, except at the level of household management. As a result this system of functioning of the economy is highly irrational, and the high costs are borne by the people. The logic of holding on to such a system probably lies in the fact that the economy serves political ends as well. Here I might repeat what Professor Goscinski said, that "the driving force behind economic activities in a socialist country is the maintenance and reinforcement of political power, followed by meeting the economic needs of society. Reduction or promotion of democracy in political life must, therefore, be accompanied by limiting or promoting democracy in economic life." The lack of union between these two systems would create a system that could not function, would be internally contradictory and completely uncontrolled. Central government agencies were constructed with the idea of directing the mechanism that serves to make social interests and the interests of the highest organs of political power identical. Under these circumstances, the totality of management activities must be directed from above. Attempts at reform are undertaken when the branch of the system that serves to maintain the organizational political order comes into conflict with the one that must meet economic needs.

As a result, the social cost of maintaining such a mechanism of economic functioning is greater than it is when market mechanisms are used; with respect to these the main complaint is that when they are applied, part of the work contribution of people goes to waste. Also, this mechanism causes a growing disproportion between an economy managed by this traditional method and other countries.

The condition for success of the reform to which I subscribe was formulated by Dr. A. Rychard: "The existence of a mechanism that guarantees that if the political system accepts responsibility for social rationality of decentralized units, this responsibility will not be limited only to neutralizing the idea of reform and restoring complete control over the economy."

Entirely mine was the statement that the market imbalance that exists in our economy is caused by the system of functioning of the economy that is being used. The ineffectiveness of all on-the-spot methods used in attempt to

restore it is specific evidence of this. This indicates that the causes of imbalance are deeper.

As long as this system is maintained, so long will the imbalance persist or even grow greater. In order for the effects of the reform to bring positive results, the reform must proceed in this direction, but it must begin from the center since that is the institution that can either support it or inhibit it.

Meanwhile reform, in the form in which it is being introduced, has singled out from the "three s's" self-financing almost exclusively, and this in its worst form, since it was achieved by high prices. In the opinion of the people, it is associated with price increases. This is a result of the fact that the system of functioning of the economy is very disjointed. This is due to the fact that the position of the center and the superficially reformed "lows," the enterprises, has been strengthened. Parenthetically speaking, reform is actually most easily carried out in the enterprises; we know this from the experience of the 1970's. But the effect of such disunity in the system of functioning is that the system can easily return to the old form of the command-distributive system, which some people seem to have already forgotten.

2950

CSO: 2600/909

RECORD OF OUTGOING ACADEMY OF SCIENCES LEADERSHIP RAPPED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 13, 25 Mar 84 pp 14, 15, 16

[Article by Romuald Karys; material enclosed between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The state of Polish scholarship is alarming. Outlays designated for research-development work yield results that fall far short of expectations. Most of all, these results are different from those expected by society in kind and quality. Too often, the experts' reports of scholars fail to consider questions addressed to research. Since these are normally questions regarding individual subjects, they are very specific. On the other hand, the answers of scholars, usually contained in extensive treatises, are theoretical in most cases. As such, they sometimes represent contributions to the general development of a given branch of scholarship, but they are unsuitable for the institutions that order them. Consequently, they are sent to the archives, and the amounts expended for their implementation are noted with irritation.

While their lack of usefulness, from the viewpoint of material society interests is most disturbing, it is merely a symptom or an outgrowth of the general crisis in Polish scholarship. It is plagued by numerous internal conflicts and inability, most often of the type: A is bad because B is bad, and vice versa. The system of educating young research workers is in near ruins.

The authority of Polish scholarship abroad is declining. In Poland, the word "scholarship" has much less meaning than in the past. In some social circles, the term "scholar" is slowly becoming synonymous with the terms "quasi-expert," "compiler," "one striving for effect" or worse.

The scholarly community is stirred up internally and not only for political reasons. At many scholarly meetings, including PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] sessions, and even at meetings of the presidium of this body, embarrassing quarrels and clashes are occurring. If the designation "moral authority"

is still being used to refer to some representatives of scholarship, it is applied only to the senior scholars that have been trained according to the standards of an earlier scholarly ethos that demanded that a scholar possess knowledge and ethical integrity in equal measure.

Polish scholarship has been neglectful of contact with the important sphere of material production, but it also has committed the less obvious, but equally serious offense of neglecting contact with elementary and secondary education, with the school, the teacher and the institutions that inculcate general knowledge outside of the school system.

The process of the commercialization of the views of scholars is progressing. What is not lucrative enough the average Polish scholar of the 1980's just does not do. He wants easy, undemanding, safe profit. Thus, he is interested primarily in extended trips abroad. His next interest lies in all sorts of sinecures, such as participation (often only wholly formal) on various committees, administrative bodies and councils. Finally, he sets store in profit guaranteed by potboilers, long and short, most of which are works executed lefthandedly, commissioned by smaller institutions that wish to pretend that they are doing something in the field of research and development.

The lack of coordination among the three organizational elements of research--PAN institutes, institutes under the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology and ministerial institutes--is becoming more and more evident.

I merely hint here at the most important problems of Polish scholarship. They are so extensive and so variously caused that each one requires an entire treatise.

One encounters the opinion (gladly offered, especially in PAN circles) that all of the narrow-mindedness and shallowness of Polish scholarship is compensated for by its achievements in the field of basic research. This is both true and false. True, we have a dozen or so high-calibre scholars whose theoretical achievements save the face of this "basic" scholarship. But what lies beyond this? What about the base?

The Right to Self-assessment

In the situation where nearly all observers of Polish scholarship are beginning to realize that this cannot go on, that society cannot afford either waste or romantic gestures associated with the past altruistic patronage of scholarship, where ideas are arising regarding some sort of radical measures that finally would make scholarship what it should be--one of the driving forces of the state's development, we first await the comments of the scholars themselves. We recognize their right of precedence to assess the situation in which they find themselves, and their right to propose methods for overcoming the crisis in Polish scholarship that has been joined in recent years to the general social and economic crisis, but arose in the former much earlier and has somewhat different causes than the general crisis.

We have already heard from a number of scholars on this subject. We have read hundreds of anxious interviews and we have listened to public discussions. /What we wish, however, is a fundamental assessment--principled and thorough--made by scholars that are very eminent and also exercise the highest leadership functions in scholarship./

The opportunity for such an analysis was created for the leaders of Polish scholarship by the 59th session of the Polish Academy of Sciences General Assembly that took place on 9 December 1983, and by the 27 January 1984 reports-elections session closing the 10th term of its officials--probably the most difficult term in the academy's history. The term opened in the atmosphere of fall 1980, lasted through the tumultuous period of 1981, through the martial law period and through the no less complex, but quieter year of 1983.

The report of the outgoing PAN Presidium entitled "Polish Scholarship--Today and Tomorrow" was a fundamental document of the session. Despite its engaging title, the report does not analyze the current state of Polish scholarship comprehensively enough, and is especially poor in its treatment of "tomorrow." Although its tone is very dramatic in places, it fails to express fully the intensity of the situation in which Polish scholarship has found itself because it treats almost exclusively the external determinants of this situation (with regard to scholarship and PAN) and fails to perceive its causes emanating from--

Scholarship and the Academy Itself.

The report ignores many really vital issues. For example, it fails to assess the current cadre potential of the academy and the whole of scholarship, and thus offers no opinions on the competence of current cadres. The question of cooperation with foreign countries that is of tremendous importance to scholarship and is very critical for scholars directly is dismissed with a few generalizations. The moral questions of scholarship and scholarly ethics are limited to remarks on the subject of the political views of scholars and the determinants of these views. Meanwhile they ignore completely other phenomena, including those that emanate from commercial attitudes, contentiousness and sometimes nonchalance. No mention is made of the law on the Polish Academy of Sciences that has been in the planning stages for a long time or of several other very important legal documents connected with scholarship that scholars, academic institutions and their contractors have been awaiting.

A synthetic analysis is made of the achievements of Polish scholarship throughout the 40 years following World War II. Meanwhile, there is no report on the scholarly achievements of the academy and other research institutions during the 3-year term of the outgoing authorities, although this ought to have been represented by a substantial portion of the report.

Scholars or Politicians?

Let us look at what the authors of the report considered to be appropriate for the report. It is replete with regrets and lofty declarations and... is treated as a forum for finding people to blame. Here is a sample of the

declarations: "The vast majority of Polish scholars wish to participate in word and deed in restoring the Republic, are very closely tied with the future of the nation and favor the socialist path of Poland's development." Could not the PAN Presidium have found a form that generalized less and phraseology that was less sloganistic?

The authors of the report decided to define their position on the issues that in recent years had a significant impact on society's critical stance toward scholarship and the people representing it. The reasons they give are the sluggishness and the sycophantic fawning of many scholars and academic institutions toward the party-state leadership of the 1970's. PAN's authority likewise suffered greatly due to this. The report attempts to demean the significance of the ecstatically optimistic analyses and experts' reports with which scholarship regaled the authorities during the last decade. It also tries to make light of the "court manners, the lack of courage and the incompetence" of the advisers to the leadership of the period. The PAN document attests: "Undoubtedly there were yes-men, but that is why they were chosen, so that ultimately the authorities were at fault and not scholarship per se."

Here I would like to take issue with the writers of the report. Of course, the decisionmakers of the time selected their own academic advisers in a manner that certainly was not unrestrained (do decisionmakers anywhere at the highest level ever act otherwise?), but they did not select them from among people whose academic qualifications PAN would have officially vetoed (at that time!) Their high academic titles and honors were merely confirmed by the state authorities, via the proper procedures. They had been conferred upon the recommendation of other competent scholars, competent scholarly bodies or through democratic elections in academic institutions. Thus, how can one speak of the lack of even indirect responsibility on the part of Polish scholarship for the behavior of these people?

The complaints and the charges for having caused the current situation in scholarship are directed by the PAN scholars at two groups: at their colleagues "across the way" centered around the apparatus of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, whom they accuse of fearing the "academy's hegemony" and of their "essentially highly irrational power struggles"; and at the somewhat vaguely defined "decisionmaking centers," none of whose moves over the 3 years academic officials were able to understand, according to the report.

Money, Money...

The authors of the report state that there are three causes of the "weakness of our research centers": 1) the poor condition of scientific apparatus and the lack of new equipment, replacement parts, materials and reagents; 2) the lack or the shortage of efficient and modern computing methods and the "appalling state of all of Polish information science"; 3) library, technical and publishing services that do not meet the elementary needs of Polish scholarship and basic difficulties related to the import of foreign literature and scholarly publications.

"The preceding limitations--we read in the report--have an especially negative impact upon the possibility for taking up and resolving major research tasks that are linked directly with technological progress and the needs of the economy. The results are disastrous both for the economy and scholarship.

"It must be stated openly that except for individual examples, Polish science and technology cannot boast of original achievements that enable the substantial modernization of production and effective competition on international markets. This engenders the critical attitude of the authorities and public opinion to scholarship and its needs. This in turn reduces the opportunities for resolving the previously noted problems, limiting the effectiveness of academic institutions. Breaking out of this enchanted circle of impossibility is one of the conditions for the development of both science and the economy. Meanwhile (...) scholarship's share of the state budget declined from 1.8 percent in 1978 to 1.06 percent this year (1983--parentheses R.K.'s). The growth rate of budgetary outlays for scholarship is one-half the growth rate of higher schools, education, culture and health care. Taking into consideration the price and wage increase and the resultant deflationary index, we arrive at the assessment that real outlays for scholarship in the state budget in 1982 were less than 54 percent of 1978 outlays, and they declined further in 1983. We estimate that the total costs and outlays for the 'research and development' sector in 1982 were not more than 1.2 percent of the national income compared with 2.2 percent in 1978. This is the lowest index over the past 25 years and it is on the average one-third that of the other socialist countries. (...) While we can cite endless data and evaluations, those already presented readily demonstrate that the situation is extremely alarming. We have informed the highest authorities of the country about this many times. Unfortunately, our assessment is that some of the officials of the central state administration relate to the needs of science scornfully or unwillingly."

While I do not intend to give a hand to "some of the officials of the central state administration" in the polemic with this position, I do have a basic remark to make. If subsidies for scholarship in 1978 amounted to 1.8 percent of state budgetary outlays, i.e., they approached the 2 percent level stated in another place in the report, and if they were at this level not only in 1978 but, as the generally available statistical data shows, practically throughout the entire period of the 1970's, then /where are the results of these almost optimal subsidies?/ At the time, scholarship participated in abundance in foreign-exchange purchases and there was a flourishing investment (in zlotys and foreign-exchange) in the qualifications of the people pursuing scholarship. What happened with the material potential that was accumulated and the stores of knowledge? Given that in most industrial subsectors, it takes several years for the entire research process from its beginning to end, through its testing and implementation, /it is now that we should be reaping the dividends on the capital invested in practical scholarship from 1975 to 1979./ The gains are not there. There is not even a base that would allow us to expect them soon--only a void and bad taste. Thousands of trips abroad for consultation have proved to be fruitless. Hundreds of central academic meetings alone have yielded nothing. The programs created at them are /anachronistic, unprofessional, unrealistic and unscientific./

Thus, it is no wonder that the administration, or some part of it, remembering the entire series of recent slipups of our scholarship, related to some of the current ideas and demands of scholars "scornfully or unwillingly" (I think that the essence of this attitude is better described by the phrase: in an untrusting manner).

Like anyone that has used past subsidies poorly and wishes to receive new grants, scholarship should present a realistic and convincing plan for future activities, at the same time indicating that it has made a self-evaluation and self-improvement and has become more credible as a result of this. This ought to be a plan that ensures, above all, the profitability of the planned ventures. It also ought to create some guarantees in the sphere of professional ethics in the broad sense, since society is very sensitive to this aspect where scholarship is concerned (and not only where scholarship is concerned), having reasons for this in past experiences. Thus far, this kind of program, document or manifesto--whatever it be called--does not exist. In any case, the report in question is not such a document.

Its writers chose an entirely different path. They call to mind that the "Ninth PZPR Congress announced in a resolution the protection of scholarship against the consequences of the crisis. Consequently, they call for: 1) outlays for research and development "not lower than before the crisis period"; 2) investment funds (including foreign-exchange) not lower than 1 percent of total capital spending in the country (scholarship now receives 0.36 percent of the total); 3) the availability of "the entire body of contemporary world scientific and technical literature" to Polish scholarship; 4) wages for scholarly employees that are in line with wages in industry.

If we look at these desires in pre-crisis terms, they do not seem unwarranted or excessive. Currently, however, almost everyone in Poland is deprived of something that he had before the crisis to which he had been accustomed. Many employees in more important or less important professions lack basic working tools, not to speak of work comforts as such. Nevertheless, the Polish Academy of Sciences is demanding special privileges for its institutions and workers. It is demanding them in categorical tones, immediately, but is not promising any immediate results in exchange. It is merely submitting a list of unsolved problems.

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